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Rec'd June 16/83

HS
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-77N22

R.C.N.E. HEARING

KASABONIKA LAKE, ONTARIO

JUNE 16, 1983

It was never meant for me to be here for anything
they get from their land and they are happy. If you ever
happened it would be good for the children.

John will be good for them who are able to work but they
would have to decide what kind of work they want to do around
this area. If they are a family of a man and a woman and
any good for that long. The white people are not as
thick I don't see what good that program is for the native
people. If the Gov't is in full control the native people
will always be prepared if they don't properly utilize the
land they occupy. The native people who are only in there
do as and they enjoy it. They are on land, in water and
up in the sky and good as that for their livelihood.

Simon Harty (S)
Kasabonika, Ont
Age 240

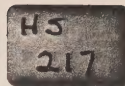
INTRODUCTION

Commissioner, thank you for coming to our community. The people of Kasabonika have expressed their feelings on the many different things that can be discussed. The majority of these people are concerned about their rights to fish, hunt, and trap for the things they need. These sort of activities are very precious and essential for a native person. These rights have been guaranteed in a treaty and they certainly want to keep it that way; Also the majority of the people are very concerned about the proposed large developments around this area. They foresee the destruction that can be caused in our land. They want to prevent these if they can, which in effect will preserve the land and it's resources which are precious to the native people. They don't mind the small things that can be started in the community, which can be helpful to the people. These people are not only concerned for themselves, but for the younger people that will be living on the land in the future.

Commissioner we hope the best will happen for the future.

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The Lord was generous in giving us this land. The Lord made the land, water, sky and every living creature. The Lord said to the native people as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow may you utilize the land. Now I will tell how I feel about these things. This land was given to the native people for their livelihood. I've seen the whitemans way of life and they are using the land which was given to the native people. I saw that they had to pay for everything they wanted to use, this includes the native people around the same area. And what I want for the native people is to have what was given to them

I used to fish, hunt and trap. I never had to pay for anything as it is today. I was satisfied and i've made use of everything that was provided for me. I was never too careful to know that I might someday lose my rights to hunt and fish freely in my own land. Because I saw what the Lord had promised for the people and I always went by this. If this happened we will probably end up paying for a cup of water and also the wood we would need for fire. I don't see how the native people would be able to afford to pay for the things they would need. The native people will have to hold on to their land and they shouldn't give up all of the land because this isn't going to be good for the native people. The best thing for the native people is to hold on to their land and everything they need for their livelihood. They wouldn't have to pay for anything or pay for any licence to hunt or fish. They would take the responsibility of utilizing the land. It wouldn't be good for the native people if they can't show how they had used the land and how they plan to use it.

It was never meant for native people to have to pay for anything they get from their land for their livelihood. If this ever haprened it wouldn't be good for the children.

Jobs will be good for those who are able to work but they would have to decide what kind of development is needed around this area. If they can't decide it's not going to do them any good for that long. If the whitepeople decide on all of these I don't see what good it's going to do to the native people. If the Gov't is in full control the native people will always be pressured if the can't properly utilize the land they occupy. The native people who are able to hunt, do so and they enjoy it. Everything on land, in water and up in the sky was given to them for their livelihood.

Simeon McKay (I)

Kasabonika, Ont

Pov 140

The large developments will not be useful for the native people. If it was close by we would have to get water from far away to make sure the water was safe to drink. There's no benefit for the native people from these developments and this is what concerns me. This is what's happening to the water that's close to the community and we have to get water away from here. It would be much better if we could make plans for our community and not include something that might interfere. This would be good for the reserve plus we would be able to save our hunting traditions.

As of today I am satisfied with the assistance we get from the government, because I had agreed with the others to accept the assistance from the government it offered. This was to be as long as they were the government and us older people realize that this might not be .

Simeon McKay (2)

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I've been working as a C.H.R. (Community Health Worker) for 16 years in Kasabonika. The first 3 years I did not get paid for.

My education consists of up to grade 2, A C.H.R. training which mainly taught Public Health;

ie: sanitation
nutrition

I had training in emergency care which were for 2 weeks long approximately six times at various times thru the years I've worked.

When I first started working there was no easy access to communication and transportation available to the Big Trout lake Nursing Station. I had to write a letter to the Big Trout Lake Nursing Station if there was a sick patient here. Today it seems easiernow that we have telephones and more planes are available.

My job primarily as a Community Health Worker is suppose to be doing Public Health. I am suppose to be teaching about Preventive Health. But I don't have time to be doing anything about this since I am too busy doing Primary Care That is

ie: Diagnosing
Giving out medication
Doing emergency treatment

I did not go to school to do any of these things but sometimes I feel I should be a Doctor or a Nurse when I have to do these things. It is getting very tiring because (1) The population is increasing (2) The girl that works with me has not received any training (3) Nurses visit from Big Trout Lake is every 2 weeks and stays for 2 days but sometimes we dont receive a visit for at least 1 month And Doctors visit every 2 months stays for 2 days, This is not enough time for the people to be seen by the nurse or a Doctor to get proper health care. As of now we don't see any specialists here very often (4) I am suppose to be only working for 20 hours for 1 week but lately it seems that I've been working more than that even though I get paid for overtime. It is still a very large responsibility for just one person to try to handle the job I'm doing. There should be a Nursing Station here already at least, the people would have some continuity in their Health care, It is not like in a city where there is a hosrital in the next block and specialists available all the time, If theres a Nursing Station here there would be nurses here all the time and hopefully we would receive a visit from the Doctor every month and specialists once or twice a year.

Emily Gregg (1)

Another thing is I have trouble with right now is transportation for patients to the airport. We are using M.T.C. truck and Band office jeep right now. But there is the Health and Welfare truck that has been sitting in front of Nurse's Cabin for 2 years. We are unable to use it.

Thank-You

Mrs Emily Gregg

Community Health Worker

Kasabonika, Ont
POV 140

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Mr. Commissioner, we want to present to you our recommendations to the following matters that really concern our people and that is Forest fires in Reserve Lands and Trapline Areas.

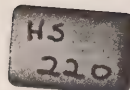
Our recommendations to Ministry of Natural Resources is that some arrangements should be made between Kasabonika Fire Committee and Ministry of Natural Resources. The arrangement should be that forest fires within Reserve Lands and Trapline Areas be put out and that Ministry of Natural Resources be responsible for all expenses.

Presented by:

Date:

Joe Winter
Kasabonika, Ont
POV 140

Rec'd June 16/83



I will talk about trapping, fishing and hunting. All things that are available were provided for the native people by the Lord. It's up to us to utilize the land. I certainly don't want my rights to fish, hunt and trap freely taken away from me. We don't want to recognize the MNR's regulations and it's licences. Native people want to keep on harvesting from their lands freely at any time. We trust our land for our livelihood. It was given to us from the Lord and we will not leave our land. We don't want trouble because of our land and it would be better if we could run our own affairs concerning fishing, hunting and trapping. Everything is spiritually alive for the Lord made this land. The work that can be obtained by the native people is beneficial to them but we don't want to destroy the land because of this. We want to keep our land because the children in the future will want to use it for their livelihood.

It's important to get education in order to get a job. It's difficult for the young because of things that interfere with them. They can't really concentrate on what is being taught to them. They end up misusing the education they get from the whitepeople, at the same time they move away from their native ways of life. They start using alcohol and other things that will mislead their lives. Educated people infact should consider of how they can help and work with the people in the reserve and make it a better place to live. They should make a stand with their education and make life easier for the future generations. I wish that the educators will show respect for the young people that are in the reserve. This is how it is as of today. Also we know that when rules are set up they can never work as planned and we are not the only ones with this problem.

Where ever forest harvesting had taken place is not a pretty sight to see. This is not beneficial for the native people if their land is ruined. Native people will have to protect the forests and the animals in it.

If there is no way of stopping the mining development the native people will have to benefit from these as long as the white people do. Because in doing so (mining our land) they will ruin our land and the Lord had given us this land and the resources it contains.

Building Dams will not be good for the land, The flood will destroy everything including the fish in the water, It wasn't the Lord's plan to destroy the land he had provided for the native people for their livelihood.

Moses Anderson (1)

The medical services are satisfactory for the native people. More help is required for the native people because we are concerned about their health. It's always nice to have nurses and Doctors come to our reserve to check the health of the people. We see the medical personnel that work here do their jobs as required. It's important to have the people checked regularly. A person with a sickness would be given treatment right away. Medical needs are essential for the native people and that's why we want more help. The Treaty guarantees that the government will pay for the medical services, which ever kills the native person or persons. This guarantee is to last until the sun doesn't shine anymore.

The government gave its assistance to start building houses on the reserve. They planned to build good sturdy houses, but today we see our houses falling apart and can't be used for a long period of time. The government had guaranteed to provide the houses as long as they are in power.

I see the seniors are having problems because they are unable to provide for themselves. A way to help the seniors, the sick are in need. We have to find a way to help these people. This winter I had troubles in providing for myself and I got help from other people. The leaders will have to find a way to help the seniors because we can't just let them freeze to death during the winter. If a place could be arranged for the seniors in this reserve, would be very helpful. Seniors going someplace else would be expensive for anybody wanting to visit them. It's more reasonable to have a place here on our own reserve for them.

Thank-You and may the Lord bless you

Moses Anderson (2)

Kasabonika, Ont

Pov 140

Rec'd June 16/83



The Lord said after he was finished in creating this world, He said it was to be used by the people and also he said everything grows on land to be used by the people like (grass, forests and berries animals, etc.) This is the Lords promise and he's the one that created this world, The Lord didn't say that there should be regulations concerning the things he made, The Gov't also guaranteed to provide assistance as the lord had promised. They talked about the sun and the rivers and this is how strong the guarantee is.

Me-wa

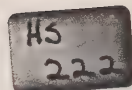
Jimmy Anderson

Kasabonika, Ont

POV 140

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Rec'd June 16/82



It's not going to do us any good if we are governed by the whitepeople regarding to our harvesting activities. Fish, birds, animals of all kinds, trees, grass, rivers, rocks, lakes, and sand were all provided by the Lord for the utilization for all native people. We always want to be able to fish, hunt and trap wherever we want to go. The whitepeople should not be allowed to ruin our land. As of today we know and see the sun and every living thing on earth depends on it.

Isaac Anderson

Kasabonika, Ont

Pov 140

HS
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I am cooking beaver and caribou inside my tepee this is how I would like for the children to live because this is how I enjoyed living in the past. I saw the native people living for many years harvesting from this land, Many of them grew white hair and died of old age, As of today people die off and not because of old age, this started to happen because of the food they get from the cans. This is how I see it anyway.

Long Ago the mothers use to chew food for their children and these children grew to become very old persons, The children never became sick Because of the food that was given to them As of today I don't live like a white person and still live much like a native person inside a teepee . I was given a house and I use it because I don't disapprove of the help I get from the white people

Thank-You

Martine Morris

Kasabmika, Ont

Pov 140

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Rec'd June 16/83

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I have little to say, I remember we were required to assign our traplines and this was done, I thought that the traplines then would be forever kept. For the native people to get everything they needed from there. As for me I am still active in trapping and fishing.

From
Charlie Frogg
Kasabonika, Ont
PO 140

Rec'd June 16/83

HS
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My name is Sarah Mamakwa. My wish is that there be some control concerning children and how they are going to have their livelihood, because everything was created for all native peoples livelihood. All kinds of food was made for their use as long as they live, They were to harvest from the land and nobody should try to change this, Long ago this is how ~~our~~ fathers and their fathers lived, harvesting from the land freely. There were never any limitations on how many fish, birds, animals and other kinds of food that were taken from our land, For those who can acquire some work it will be helpful to them and they should be allowed to work. But most of us still enjoy eating of what can be harvested from our lands.

From

Sarah Mamakwa

Kasabonika, Ont.

Pov 140

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Rec'd June 16/83



I don't have much to say, What I would like to mention is about forest harvesting. I know how this can affect us if this sort of activity gets closer to us. Lots of things that were given to us will be lost. Our animals will be lost, our wood (for est) our water and our fish, because forest harvesting can ruin lots of land plus everything in it, Our habitations can very well be affected. For us that would be unable to work we would be in despair because a lot of our surroundings would be destroyed. The native people will have a hard time getting something from their land

The natives were told to find a place to start a place to settle where ever it's suitable, But we know our whole land is suitable for our habitations, And to utilize has long as the Lord said. It was to be forever for native people to utilize this land which was given to them. The native people will find bodies of water where it's clear, deep and with lots of fish and claim them, to make sure these will last them forever. Plus everything that's on land (trees, animals, birds and etc.) to know these are always abundant.

The creator said that as long the sun shines and rivers flow, the native people will use the land for their livelihood. The same goes for the government with his treaty.

Me-wa

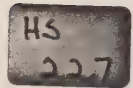
Simeon Begg

Kasabonika, Ont

Pov 140

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Rec'd June 16/83



I will discuss about trapping and fishing, Trapping has been going on for a long time, This was part of the native people's lives. There were no limits of how many furs to trap and no boundaries were made. The trappers went where ever they pleased and there were no conflicts between them. I think it's a good idea to join all traplines into one in our area because most trappers are satisfied with this idea. Fishing and trapping have been discussed before in the past because the native people have always depended on these for their livelihood. These haven't been very profitable for the native people's budget. They're starting to try and find ways to make these profitable and economical. These two are very important for the native people because they're essential for their livelihood, They are also concerned about these matters if they can't have any control in them, There are other developments that will have to consider about. For example if we can start a store this will be helpful to the native people, We'll have to consider what's on top and under the land and see how we can benefit from these. If we can start a business in our land and have control over it, will be beneficial for the native people. It would be financially helpful to the people working.

The other developments that could be considered are;

Lumber (sawmills)
Commercial Fishing
Trapping
Mining
Tourist Camps
Gardening
Wood Cutting

These can be beneficial for us and to the white people as well. The native people will have to determine which to start first and see if its going to them any good. They would also make plans on how to go about these things. If the native people decide to make one trapline they would have to consider on how much more land they would need, Then they could put consideration into other developments. Lots of money could be made from these developments. It would only be fair to have native people receive half of the money and other half would go to the white people because it's our land that would be used.

Me-wa

Charlie Oskineegish

Kasabonika, Ont

P00 140

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Commercial fishing is not profitable because everything is expensive for example: planes and gas that are needed. The fish have to be flown into another place and during a hot summer day the fish can go bad before it gets to that place. Trapping will never be beneficial for native people if the Ministry of Natural Resources gives us licences and the native people shouldn't have to accept these. I wish trapping can be the same as of today for as long as the native people say so. And we would never have to pay for anything we need because the natives were told everything given to them was free. Look at Genesis Chapter one verse 28-30.

Iv'

I've said before that I cannot let go of the things I use from this land. I am satisfied with what I am able to use Fish, birds, animals, forest and everything else. These things should be able to be used by the young people in the days to come.

The education system is not working for our children because most of them that leave for high school end up coming back home. There should be a school here that goes up to grade ten at least.

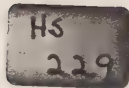
Me-wa

David E Anderson

Kasabonika, Ont.

POV 140

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Where school is located is not suitable, The water lines freeze during winter, They should consider to find a better location for it.

I think the telephones are too expensive to have, because of the overcharge on long distance calls.

A women has a right to speak because we live on this land too. These large developments that are proposed by the white people(mining, forest harvesting,dams) These will bring destruction to our land,little or no benefit goes to the natives This is our land (Nishnabwe-aski) and its our territory, the white people has no right to say what goes on in our land.

From

Elizabeth D. Anderson

Kasabonika, Ont

Pov 170

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HS
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What the Lord said was that the Native people have been given this land to utilize as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow, When the M.N.P. says that specific lakes are only to be used, it sounds to me that they are trying to stop us from using the rivers and I don't understand this, Also everything in the water and everything that grows should be used . As of today the native people have made good use of everything that surrounds them. As is the fish and animals eat insects we don't see and there are all kinds of them,. plus they make use of everything that grows on land, We see a bird running around and we can't see what it's feeding on, but we know he's making use of it. This is how it is with the native people they make use of everything and not only the things that can be seen because everything is good to be used.

In 1929 the government said to the native people that he will provide assistance as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow, Just like what the creator said.

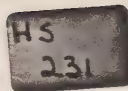
Me-wa

William Anderson

Kasabonika, Ont

POV 140

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The native people enjoy trapping and it's not fair for the white people to decide on this matter, what ever the Lord provided the native people will always want to use them. Everything that moves for example like fish, birds, animals and what ever that grows in this land. The native people will have to keep on hunting fishing, and trapping because it's essential for their livelihoods. As of today I don't see anything that's creating problems for these sort of activities. These were provided for the native people and the white man shouldn't govern these matters. There is only one who made this land and every living thing in it. The native people can never give everything which was provided for them.

That's all I can say Thank you very much.

Elijah Anderson

Kasabonika, Ont

Pov 140

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I will discuss about commercial fishing and the problems that concerns the fisher man. The native people are given limitations on how many fish to get from each lake and they are not allowed to get fish from the smaller lakes. It's not very profitable for the native people because planes and gas are expensive. The weather is not always permitting the plane to take the fish to it's far destination. When ~~They~~ they are unable to send the fish to Pickle lake because there's no room for storing the fish. ~~They~~ they end up wasting alot of fish. Also they get no assistance from anybody and they have to provide for whatever they need to do commercial fishing. As I have mentioned before everything is expensive including the nets that are used. Alot of money is required. Some native people are still considering to do more commercial fishing. Many are starting to lose interest because this is not helping them in any way. The amount they get paid for the fish is not very much and they are farther up north which means more expeence. This is one of the farthest reserves where commercial fishing takes place. The Otter taking the fish to Pickle lake costs up to 12 hundred dollars. The fishers are always in need for money. Many of the native people are always in need of supplies and equipment in order to do any commercial fishing.
ie; Boats, Motors

Houses and storage houses for the fish that are used by the native people are not in good shape.

Levi Prown
Band Councillor
Kasabonika, Ont.
POV 140

Rec'd June 16/83

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Mr. Commissioner, I would like to present to you the statistics and the results of what has been happening to the high-school students of Kasabonika for the past (1) ten years. In those ten years, we had a total of 48 highschool students and out of those 48 students, only 4 of them obtained their highschool certificate.

As you can see, this is a major problem to our community since we are aware that Education for our children is very important in our culture today.

A couple of years ago, the Kasabonika Lake Band Council passed a resolution requesting the Department of Indian Affairs to provide them a Social Counsellor, this social counsellor would assist and teach our children the importance of education today. The resolution for the Social Counsellor has only been brought up this year informing that we might only get a half-time social counsellor but this has not been confirmed yet.

On behalf of the concerned parents of Kasabonika and myself as well, we would like Department of Indian Affairs to provide a Social Counsellor immediately. The urgent need for a social counsellor comes to being because the enrollment of our children will increase each year for the next 5 years.

.... /2

If there is no Social Counsellor provided, then the present situation of the problem will continue.

Mr. Commissioner, We would appreciate it if our presentation is considered as we would like to see our children continue their education.

Thank you.

Presented by:

Date

Harry Lemstra
Kasabonika, Ont

POV 140

List of students who dropped out for the past ten years:

Ida Semple
Sarah Anderson
Archie Anderson
Billy Anderson
Peter McKay
Victoria Albany
Frank Semple
Linda Anderson
Greta Anderson
Mary McKay
Maria Anderson
Katie Anderson
Nancy Anderson
Annie Anderson
Louie Anderson
Samson Anderson
Mell Anderson
Cameron Anderson
Janey Semple
Ruby Oskineegish
Ernest Anderson
Betty Anderson
Sepina Begg
Cathy Anderson
Dora Anderson
Matilda Frogg
Ellie Begg
Susan Anderson
Richard Anderson
Isiah Anderson
Terry Stoney
John Winter
Delius Oskineegish
Kellie Anderson
Genevieve McKay
Emily Anderson
Ruth Anderson
Theresa Anderson
Priscilla Anderson
Edith Anderson
Tom Semple
Jessie Anderson
Cecelia Anderson
Mavis Winter
Margaret Winter
Gordon Anderson
Allan Anderson
Peter Albany

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A NEW HOME

H5
234

Today, we the people signed below are planning a new village. We have asked some of our leaders to state their beliefs about life so that we can base our village life on sound spiritual values.

We are concerned about our Indian way of life. In our present large village there are many problems which are too difficult for us to look after. The life we know was centered around small communities of families where respect, honour and love were the virtues of strength to us. We worked very hard at trapping, fishing, building homes and other jobs.

Our life is very spiritual and our leaders have passed these truths on to us;

- God truly gave to the people heaven, earth and all the living creatures;
- all of the living creatures were given to the angels to protect and to the people to look after;
- all of the generations will know that God has given to each living creature a spirit;
- as the light shines off the clouds all creation will know that God has made a promise to care for his creatures;
- a light came down from heaven as a sign that God cares for his people;
- God sent his Son to work among all the creatures and to look after all that God had made;
- Prayer was the means whereby creation communicated with the Creator and Prayer has continued from the very beginning of time.

For our daily living two things were given to us to use: Prayer and our Chief & Council. We know that the Queen and her servants hold the laws that we live by from day to day. The Chief is the servant of the Queen and he governs the people and living creatures until the end of time. The Queen also has Spiritual Leaders as servants who care for the people. These Spiritual Leaders lead the people in Prayer and teach the people about Eternal Life.

The Government of the Queen has said the same things that God said about the future time:

I will look after you
as long as the sun shines,
as long as the rivers flow,
as long as the plants grow,
as long as the water plants grow,
and as long as heaven remains.

Now we must build our village on these spiritual values.

Planning our village without the assistance of Indian Affairs; the Queen's servants, means that we must turn to others to support us in our search for a full and meaningful life for our children.

The first building to be constructed will be our church. Since the spiritual values are the center of our life, our church must come first. This building will serve as a school, a clinic room for the visiting nurse, and a meeting room.

The twelve families who hope to move to the new village will be responsible for building their log homes. This will require a great deal of work but we believe that we must do this to preserve our way of life for generation to come.

Our greatest need is provided where we could do this kind of operation. We have set a saw-mill where we could make our own lumber. We will build our own homes, such as church, crafts & Arts Centre, and the Hudson's Bay Company.

Our next building is a craft-shop where people of the new village can sell their crafts and carvings whatever they can make. This will present the people are using what the creator has given them to use while they are living in this world.

The last building to be constructed is the Hudson Bay Company. It is been appointed that the Hudson Bay Company can live with this kind of community.

- A. H. Jane. Chairman

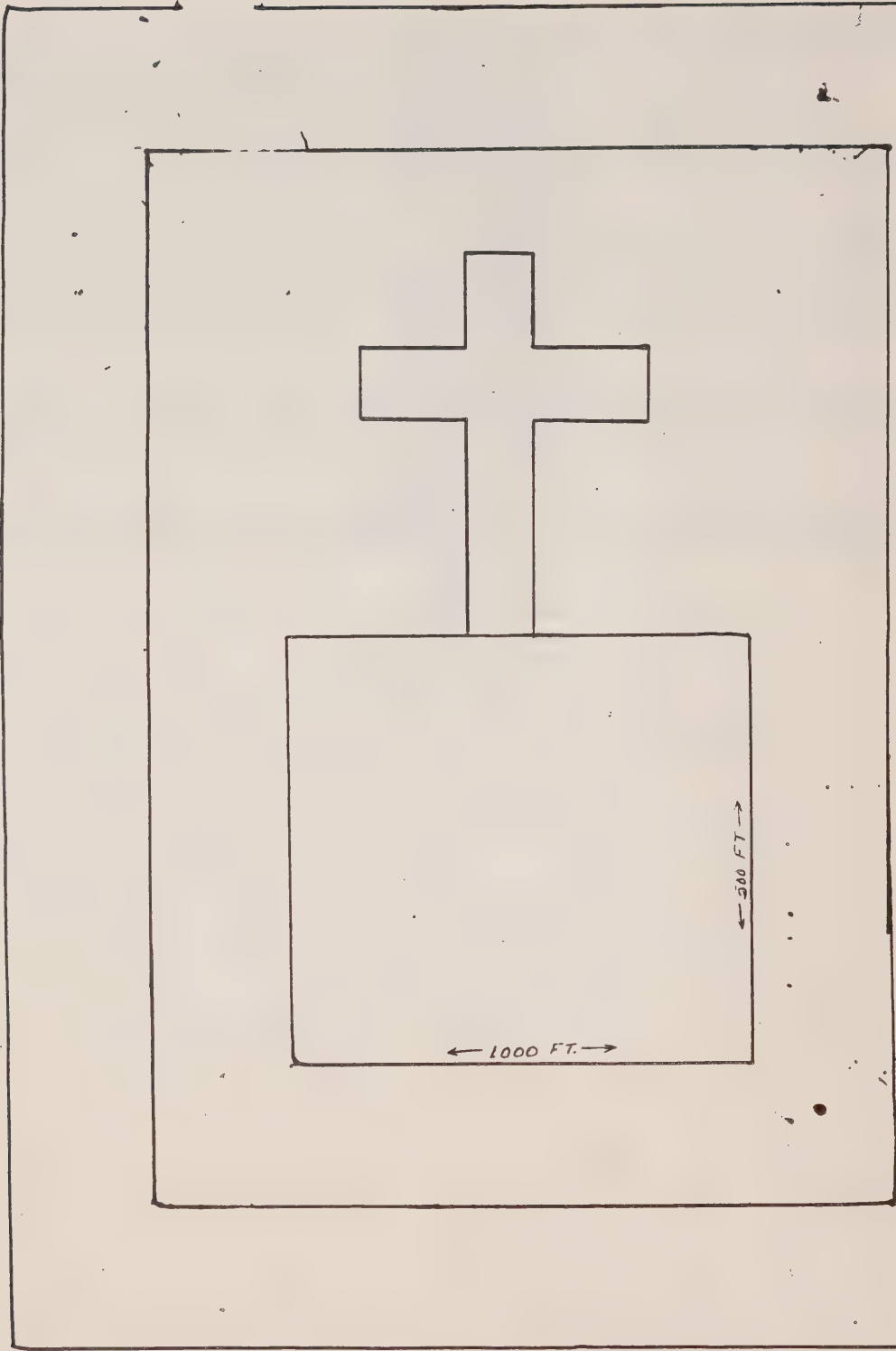
Kasabonka

Confiance

POB 140

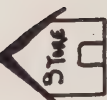
<u>No. of family</u>	<u>Names of People</u>
5	Abraham Frogg
3	William Anderson
2	Mary Anderson
4	Jimmy Anderson
7	Abraham McKay
3	Alex Anderson
5	Ezra Fox
5	Mary Begg
4	Soloman Anderson
8	Amos Anderson
4	Isaac Anderson
7	Simeon Begg
3	Mary Ann Lawson
3	Sepina Begg
4	Elijah Anderson
2	Charlie Frogg
6	Patrick Anderson
5	Stephen Anderson
3	Dorothy Anderson
7	Donald J. Anderson
1	Saggius Frogg
1	Tellia Begg
1	Thaddeus Begg
1	Pamilla Morris
1	Joan Elsie Anderson
1	Josie Anderson

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Mr. Commissioner

My name is Douglas Semple and I am a member of the Wunnummin Lake Reserve. Therefore my address to you will not only concern the community of Kasabonika but the whole native community of Northwestern Ontario.

Mr. Commissioner, I sat thru the hearing this afternoon and listened to presentation after presentation about the problems that are plaguing the community of Kasabonika, I sat there and thought about what was being said. Through my thoughts I began to compare the proceedings to a conversation. A conversation between 2 people talking about the symptoms of a disease or sickness and not quite really knowing how to subdue and conquer the disease.

Mr. Commissioner, the disease I refer to is the bungling bureaucracy known as the dept of Indian Affairs. Not only is the bureaucracy a headache to the natives but the same can be said for the government. It is costing them too much to run it but thats beside the point.

When local governments put in submissions and proposals for the benefit of the community so often the result is that they get lost in the red tape and nothing ever gets done.

The tremendous amt of money that is allotted to the Indians from the federal budget is soaked up by the Indian Affairs so that only a small percentage reaches the people who were supposed to benefit from it the most.

So, mister commissioner, on the basis of this observation I suggest that the abolishment of Indian Affairs be forthcoming And In its place a better alternative fiscal arrangment be instituted whereby the full benefit of the federal monies granted to us be felt at the community level.

I believe, mister commissioner, if this were so, the problems that the communities of the north face today would be greatly alleviated.

Take for instance the problem of high school drop outs, it would be solved somewhat greatly. If we had control of funds at our disposal we would build a highschool in our area with out the present day hassle of dealing with the Indian Affairs. I strongly believe that if there were a school in the area there would be more graduates. I know what I am talking about when I say this because I went thru the present system and failed. I only managed to obtain grade 11 but 3 years ago I managed to get into college on a mature student basis and am doing well but only because I presevare in thought and action that I will come back north after I finish and work for the betterment of my people. Mr. Commissioner this is what keeps me going the thought of coming back north to live. I love the north country as my home. This is the part of the reason why there is so much drop outs in the north. The kids love the north and can't stand to be away from it for long stretches of time.

Mr. commissioner, not only the educational problem would be solved but others problems that have been presented to you could be solved as well if we had better control of our funding source.

In the lite of all this, commissioner I implore you that in your final report that you make a recommendation for the abolishment of the D.I.A.

I know that what I'm suggesting will be hard and alot of obstacles will have to be overcome. But mister commissioner the way I see it There just has to be a better way than what it is now.

Douglas Semple

Wunnummin Lake,
Ontario

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Rec'd July 7/83 HC 236

STRATEGIES FOR SELF-RELIANCE:

COMMUNITY-BASED DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD
AND ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°

A Submission to
The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment

Development Education Centre
Toronto
July, 1983

INTRODUCTION

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Callous men in business costumes speak computerese
Play pinball with the 3rd world trying to keep it on
its knees
Their single crop starvation plan puts sugar in your
tea
And the local 3rd world's kept on reservations you
don't see

-- Bruce Cockburn:
"The Trouble with Normal"

"And the local 3rd world's kept on reservations you don't see". This line by Canadian songwriter Bruce Cockburn says a lot about the position of native people in Ontario north of 50°. It points first of all to continuing attempts to keep native people invisible, to isolate them on the margins of the dominant society, and to deny them a full and equal role in the determination of their own destiny and the development of the lands they inhabit. Commissioner Fahlgren's denial (ruling made November 22, 1982 at Sioux Lookout) of Grand Council Treaty #9's application for standing with the Commission exemplified these attempts: in effect, he refused to acknowledge "a direct and substantial interest in the subject matter of [the] inquiry"¹ on the part of 20,000 people making up approximately two-thirds of the population of the area under consideration. Plainly a violation of common sense as well as a revelation of the Commission's political bias, Fahlgren's ruling was tested in the Divisional Court, and the judge's decision, although well known, bears reiteration here in part, as it affirms numerous

principles that will underlie this submission:

Theirs [the Nishnawbe-Aski's] is a unique way of life, one which they have lived for centuries. They fear their culture and lifetsyle is being threatened by developmental activities in the north. They feel they have not shared fully in the decision-making in the past and wish to do so in the future. This group also claims, although this has not been established legally, the right to ownership of vast areas of the land mass that is being considered by this Commission. Hence, the Grand Council is not the spokesman for a few citizens who are vaguely interested in the outcome of the Commission's inquiry, but rather it represents the majority of the population in the region, a different culture and lifestyle, and a totally different attitude towards the use of land and resources. It is significant to note that the Commissioner, in opening his hearings, stated: ". . . a central theme in my inquiry is the necessity to address the position of Native People north of the 50th parallel". This exercise by necessity must profoundly affect the people represented by the Grand Council. We are, therefore, convinced that the Grand Council, as official spokesman of the Nishnawbe-Aski, has a substantial and direct interest in the work of the Commission. 2

This much is established. Native people will be profoundly affected by developments in Ontario north of 50°, and have a vital stake in defining and creating the options to be pursued.

"The local 3rd world": what does this mean? The Third World is conventionally seen as being comprised of the underdeveloped societies of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, where subsistence economies yield desperately low levels of income for the majority, and where poor education, health and housing standards are endemic.³ But are these not features which characterize conditions in native communities throughout the north here in Canada?

Southern Canadians have grown accustomed to looking outside Canada for examples of underdevelopment; the image of Canada as

an autonomous, developed nation has been widely accepted. If we are to begin to come to terms with reality here in northern Ontario, and to break the syndrome that inhibits and undermines the fulfillment of the aspirations of the majority of its inhabitants, namely the Nishnawbe-Aski nation, we must recognize that a process of underdevelopment as profound as any that has taken place in Asia or Latin America continues to affect the economic, social and cultural life of the indigenous people north of 50°.

Some basic concepts are essential to this analysis:

The process of unequal and dependent development is generated in a hinterland nation or region by the channelling of its natural, financial and human resources to another centre, a metropole. The hinterland is integrated into the process of development of the metropole in a way which distorts and limits the growth of the former's productive forces. Through the same process which makes the hinterland dependent, the accumulation and concentration of wealth in the metropole is promoted. The processes of dependent and uneven growth which evolve in the hinterland are well summarized in the phrase "the development of underdevelopment".

This process occurs both among nations and among regions within each nation. For example, the uneven growth within Canada, which has generally been described by the term "regional disparities", might better be called, in this context, "internal colonialism".⁴

Canada's position is thus a complex one. As a nation it is neither metropole nor hinterland. It is not simply a developed, central capitalist country, nor a peripheral, Third World country. Canada shares some of the characteristics of both. Within Canada there are large regions that have been drained of resources and experience chronically depressed economic conditions, regardless of the state of the country's economy as a whole. Northern Ontario is one such region. Furs,

minerals and timber have been drawn out on terms that have progressively enriched the southern metropole at the northern hinterland's expense. Manufacturing, financial institutions, and the service sector continue to be concentrated in the southern metropole.

Within the northern Ontario hinterland, native people have been subjected to a dual process of underdevelopment. Not only has their homeland, the northern environment, been exploited for its raw materials with little attendant long-term benefit to the north, but native people have had no control over these activities. They have been relegated to a marginal existence within sequestered reserves, where they play virtually no role in the extractive industries. Granted, over the years some native people have worked in mines, but this activity has been on a small scale and subject to boom and bust cycles. Hunting, trapping and fishing, while vital to native people's livelihood and cultural identity, are rarely a part of a market economy in that they are carried on mainly for subsistence; the costs involved are exorbitant in relation to the monetary returns. Paid full-time employment exists for only a tiny fraction of the native population; the majority are wholly dependent on welfare.

As well, within the context of this extreme economic dependency, reinforced by massive social assistance, native people have been colonized culturally and socially. Under the influence of traders and missionaries, government-controlled education, remedial and "developmental" services, within the

limits set by the Indian Act and the reservation system, and under the impacts of the rapid infiltration of non-native values and lifestyles, most recently through the media, traditional native culture and social relations have been substantially eroded, and are still under assault. "Internal colonialism" is an ongoing reality for people who only settled in permanent communities a generation and a half ago.

Yet to call native communities north of 50° part of the Third World is perhaps a bit misleading; there is a fundamental difference that sets the Nishnawbe-Aski nation apart from Third World countries. The Nishnawbe-Aski nation is not a sovereign state; it exists within a sovereign-nation state. This fact determines a whole set of relationships that shape people's experience and affect their political directions. Recognizing this difference, some people use the term "Fourth World" to describe the condition of aboriginal minorities in countries throughout the world.

Third World or Fourth World, Ontario north of 50° is certainly not the First World.* It is on the basis of many similarities between the situation of native people in northern Ontario and that of Third World peoples who share a legacy of colonialism and underdevelopment, that we have premised our submission. We have taken this comparative approach which stresses the parallels between native and Third World experience

* First World is usually used to refer to the industrialized, developed, advanced capitalist nations of the "western world", or of the "north" in the new post-Brandt Commission parlance.

in the belief that some valuable lessons have been learned overseas that can inform the efforts of native communities in Ontario north of 50° to control their own development and increase their self-reliance. By no means do we intend to present a blueprint for successful development: such a gesture would be both naive, futile and irresponsible. There is no single pattern, structure or set of assumptions that can be applied across the board. Community development is a highly specific process that emerges from particular conditions and aspirations. These conditions and aspirations can differ markedly from community to community, however close to each other geographically and sharing a similar physical environment. We feel it worthwhile, nonetheless, to suggest certain general conditions and supporting structures that can be conducive to self-reliant economic development. These suggestions will be made on the basis of concrete case studies of communities in the Caribbean (Jamaica and Saint Vincent) and in the Nishnawbe-Aski nation (Big Trout Lake and Kingfisher Lake). Preceding the case studies is an historical review of past approaches to international development assistance which includes definitions of some of the key concepts to be used in this discussion.

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NOTES

1. Public Inquiries Act, Section 5 (1).
2. Supreme Court of Ontario Divisional Court, Callon, J.Holland Linden, J.J.; Decision re Hearing of January 25-26, 1983, p. 7.
3. Development Education Centre, Underdevelopment in Canada: Notes towards an Analytical Framework, 1976, p. 2.
4. Ibid.

BACKGROUND:

THREE DECADES OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

THREE DECADES OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE: AN INTRODUCTION

Despite several United Nations-sponsored Development Decades and an enormous transfer of economic and human resources from the industrialized countries, poverty continues to define the life experience of a growing majority of people in Third World countries. A recent Report of an Independent Commission on the prospects for development in the Third World for the 1980's estimated that there are 800 million people living in absolute destitution, an increase from 700 million in the early 1970's. The Report, North-South: A Program for Survival, describes the living conditions for these millions;

"Many millions of people in the poorer countries are solely preoccupied with survival and elementary needs. For them work is frequently not available or, when it is, pay is very low and conditions often barely tolerable. Homes are constructed of impermanent materials and have neither piped water nor sanitation. Electricity is a luxury. Health services are thinly spread and in rural areas only rarely within walking distance . . . Permanent insecurity is the condition of the poor. There are no public systems of social security in the event of unemployment, sickness or death in the family . . . The combination of malnutrition, illiteracy, disease and high birth rates, underemployment and low incomes closes off the avenues of escape . . ." (Brandt, p. 49)

The Commission has called for massive economic transfers through grants and concessional loans in the order of \$50 to \$60 billion annually by 1985 from the industrialized countries and international aid agencies to avert a major human catastrophe in the next decade.

But the history of development assistance in the past three decades reinforces a pessimistic projection for the success of the Brandt's Commission's proposals to improve socio-economic conditions of the poor. A short review of this history can only refer to some of the major approaches to development assistance in these decades, the changing priorities of ^{aid} ~~all~~ to meet the basic needs of the poor, and the issues which now define the development programs of the 1980's. Indeed the very term 'development' [^] has come to be used very loosely. Its definition in the context of this history will establish the parameters for the evaluation below of three case studies of external assistance projects. In turn, the case studies will provide a specific context for identifying and analyzing factors affecting the realization of a range of development objectives.

II. Development Models, 1950-1980

For Canada, as for other industrialized nations, development assistance was originally conceived as a series of emergency measures arising from the European devastation in the Second World War and from the fears of rising Communism which underpinned the Cold War of the early 1950's. (For a detailed history and incisive critique of Canadian development assistance programs see Carty & Smith).

Following the War, Canada contributed to the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe and to similar United Nations technical assistance programs. Beginning in 1950, Canada's participation in the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in Southeast Asia, as well as modest bilateral

assistance programs in 1958 for the Commonwealth Caribbean and Africa, were viewed as emergency economic assistance (similar to the Marshall Plan) as Britain divested itself of its colonies. Moreover, aid was also tied closely to the political interests of western industrial countries in the Cold War. This was never more succinctly put than by Lester B. Pearson during a House of Commons discussion of the Colombo Plan in 1950: "If Southeast Asia and South Asia are not to be conquered by Communism, we of the free democratic world must demonstrate that it is we and not the Russians who stand for national liberation and social progress". (Ibid., p. 40) The strategic political motivations for development assistance, while more or less couched in humanitarian rhetoric, have never been far removed from the setting of geographic and sectoral priorities for development programs.

By the end of the 1950's, the Third World, as a stable source of raw materials, had become increasingly important for the post-war economic boom of the industrialized nations. In this context, Third World poverty had become an endemic crisis to which the industrialized nations ^{had to} must respond with a structured and permanent aid bureaucracy. In 1960, Canada established the External Aid Office which by 1968 had become the International Development Agency. By 1980, annual foreign aid disbursements had reached more than \$1.2 billion, involving several thousand projects in 89 countries, contributions to over 60 non-governmental organizations involved in Third World development, and support for hundreds of development experts in

Canada and abroad. Nevertheless, the growth of Canadian bilateral assistance and multilateral contributions to the programs of the United Nations and the World Bank has brought little clarity to the meaning of development, nor to ^{the} ~~its~~ impact ^{of such assisted programs} at the community level.

Throughout the 1950's, community development programs modeled on the earlier social welfare experience of North America and Europe and on the Ghandian movement in India, were seen to be the basis for stimulating local initiatives among the rural poor for both donor and developing nations alike. By the late 1950's more than 60 developing countries had community development programs supported by bilateral and multilateral project funds. However, by the early 1960's donor countries had become disillusioned with repeated failures of these programs to improve the conditions of the rural poor and they were largely abandoned.

Community development was perceived by its practitioners as a process for the modernization of "backward" rural societies. It emphasized village-level control of the development process through community participation in the identification of village needs, along with the catalytic role of village-level animators to facilitate effective solutions. (Holdcroft, 1978, pp. 5-14) Evaluations of these early community development programs revealed that they were largely unsuccessful in building stable "grass-roots" democratic institutions at the local level or in improving the lot of rural people. In India, evaluators reported that the program was not accepted by local people, did

not reach the rural poor, and was a top-down bureaucratic empire which ignored agricultural production. (Ibid., p. 24) Central to the failure of these programs was their lack of attention to the structural barriers to equality and access to productive land and agricultural facilities at the local level. In fact, village level workers most often aligned themselves with the traditional village elites, strengthening the elite's social and economic position, and consequently alienating the landless, the tenant farmers, and commercial farmers heavily in debt to local notables. The community approach was largely abandoned by the early 1960's in favour of development programs which focused more directly on macro-economic growth and increasing agricultural productivity through the chemical and technological inputs of the Green Revolution. Nevertheless, the integrated rural development approach of the 1970's, focussing on the basic needs of the poor, was to reflect many similar principles and constraints of community development in the 1950's.

Thus, the notion inherent in the Marshall Plan for Europe, that large infusions of financial resources would lead to the rapid development of the Third World, was soon belied by the experience of the early aid proponents. The largely rural societies of the Third World lacked the social, economic and institutional infrastructure that would be needed to absorb large amounts of aid. As well, the community development models of the 1950's largely ignored the social and infrastructural context in which they were applied. By the 1960's more elaborate social and economic theories for the "modernization" of the Third World were in vogue.

The economist Walt Rostow led the way with his Stages of Economic Growth which emphasized aid for countries at the point of achieving economic "take-off" through growth-producing resource and industrial investments at the expense of more equitable income distribution. In its 1966-67 Annual Review, the Canadian External Aid Office reported that Canadian aid was concentrated on "high priority projects in countries which are following general economic and financial policies conducive to growth and which are effectively mobilizing their own internal resources". (Carty and Smith, 1981, p. 76) While these new theories of development emphasized the economic aspects in the evolution of human societies, showing that history follows universal and immutable laws of economic development, western social scientists soon elaborated other aspects of their "deficiency" school of development theory. Not only did Third World countries lack savings for investment, but they also lacked western knowledge (technical, managerial, administrative) and "achievement-oriented" cultural values for entrepreneurship. Cultural, educational, and economic linkages to western industrialized societies would reinforce positive cultural and social values for achieving "take-off".

In contrast to the community orientation for development in the 1950's, the benefits of economic growth were to "trickle-down" to the poor as they became more incorporated into the "modern" sector. Yet the experience of countries such as Brazil, whose GNP grew at a rate of over 10% annually between 1967 and 1973, contradicts the theory. A confidential CIDA

analysis of the mid-1970's recognized that:

The development model outlined (in Brazil) is that of creating wealth first and leaving the problem of distribution for later . . . However, a recent estimate, attributed to the Brazilian Finance Minister, is that only about 5% of the population have benefitted from 5 years of unprecedented economic growth; 45% actually saw their standard of living go down; and the remaining 50% are relatively no worse and no better off than they were before the economic boom started. (Quoted in Carty and Smith, 1981, p. 82)

In fact the major beneficiaries of the "trickle-down" model of economic growth through productive investment have been a narrow business elite in these Third World countries who manage the massive investments of transnational corporations which took place during the 1960's and early 1970's.

The almost universal experience of Third World countries with transnational resource investments in mineral and agricultural commodities for export has been short-term economic growth in the GNP with few spin-offs for the local economy. The necessity to keep down the prices of raw material inputs for industries in the developed countries has meant profits for resource transnationals based on low wages for the local population and the perpetration of a stagnant food/subsistence agricultural sector as landlords extract rent and profits from the peasant cultivation of export and food crops. Thus, despite the Brazilian "economic miracle" the Financial Post reported in a review of Canadian investments in Brazil, that "70% of the population, or more than 70 million people, have no access to public sewage systems, 50% have no running water in their homes;

20% of the adult population are illiterate; and there is a rising infant mortality rate of 100 out of 1000 live births" (F.P. October 18, 1975). These and other basic needs of the urban and rural poor have not been the investment priorities of transnational corporations. Nor were these needs met by the large-scale infrastructural projects of port facilities, airports, hydro-electric dams, supported by the aid programs of western donor countries and the World Bank, which were justified in the context of seeking rapid economic growth through facilitating productive investment.

By the 1970's it was apparent that these earlier "take-off" models had also failed to meet the past Decade's development goals. CIDA, in a development strategy published in the mid-1970's, recognized the contradictions of these earlier concepts.

Aid and development cooperation were undermined by false assumptions about the speed at which a developing society could be transformed or the ability of western science and technology to eliminate poverty . . . Many donors have pursued policies related more to their immediate self-interests than those of recipients, and have maintained an over-simplified view of the requirements of genuine development . . . A major misconception of donors was the assumption that the relatively modest volume of resource transfers represented by aid flows could alone and in isolation eradicate poverty and guarantee development. (CIDA Strategy for International Development Cooperation 1975-1980, pp. 6-7)

But what were to be the dimensions of a new development assistance strategy and how were they to avoid the failure of past models?

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Beginning with the crisis of oil prices in 1973 and the call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) by the developing countries, both donor and recipient countries alike recognized that development would occur only in the context of major transformations in international economic and political relations between rich and poor nations and within the poor nations themselves. CIDA's Strategy 1975-1980, the Brandt Commission on North South Relations, and a similar Parliamentary Report on Canada's relations with the developing countries, have all recognized that both the rich and poor nations have a "mutual interest" in reaching new accommodations for trade, investment and international financing of development. Battered by recessions, stagnant economic growth, and increasing unemployment, the industrialized countries have successfully postponed serious negotiations on these international economic proposals for a new world order. (see Tomlinson, 1982) But at the same time, donor countries and the World Bank have sought also to orient their strategies for development assistance back to an integrated community approach similar to that of the 1950's, but one aimed more specifically at meeting the basic social and economic needs of the poor. The 1980 Report of the Parliamentary Task Force on North-South Relations reflects this approach in its call for "a new definition of development based on justice and the equitable sharing of benefits both within and between nations". In order to achieve development, "access to food, shelter, education, employment and health care are absolute values" and "the primary purpose of economic growth

should therefore be improvement in the lives of the poorest people." (Canada, House of Commons, Parliamentary Task Force on North-South Relations, 1980, pp. 12-13) Despite a certain rhetorical appeal, evaluations of this new strategy of "basic needs development" reveal limited practical consequences for the poor of the developing countries. As in previous development models the roots of this failure cannot be separated from a more global analysis of the process of development and underdevelopment itself.

II THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT/UNDERDEVELOPMENT

To understand the failure of development assistance programs in the previous three decades to create viable economic and social development for the poor, a perspective on the process of underdevelopment, that is, the social, economic and cultural structures which perpetuate poverty, is needed. This perspective has most clearly emerged in the literature on the structural causes of underdevelopment, an analysis which underpins the political thrust for a New International Economic Order.

As development assistance from most governmental and international donor agencies, as well as from many non-governmental organizations has remained tied to the "deficiency school" analysis of Third World underdevelopment, it has emphasized the large-scale transfer of resources in cash and kind, including skilled manpower and technological know-how from the high-income countries to the low-income countries. In the

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1970's this view was challenged by both academic^s and development practitioners who put forward a more historical and holistic conception of the causes of underdevelopment. Deficiencies in "modern" values and economic structures were more a symptom of this process of underdevelopment than its cause. Goulet and Hudson have contrasted these two views of underdevelopment:

The first view postulates that while some nations are unfortunately "backward", they can evolve in the direction of "developed" nations, if they adopt the acceptable behaviour and "modern" goals.

The second view rejects this language as historically unreal. Underdevelopment is not rooted in providence, inferior personality traits, or traditional values. Rather it exists because the Third World has been the object of systematic subjugation action by the dominant nations. Following centuries of colonialism and neo-colonialism, a world-wide system has been "aided", "technologized", and "mutual securitized" into place. (Goulet and Hudson, 1971, p. 9)

This latter view of development/underdevelopment focuses on the historically created economic and social structures of dependency between the rich nations of Western Europe and North America and their colonies and neo-colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Underdevelopment has been a consequence of this large-scale exploitation of resources by the more powerful industrial nations. (Kindervatter, 1979, pp. 20-30, Goulet, 1975) The emphasis on unequal power relationships, both internationally and within Third World societies themselves have also challenged traditional perspectives on the nature of donor aid relationships with the Third World. It is a perspective which largely informs the analysis below of donor-assisted community development projects in the Third World.

A specific analysis of the historical evolution of economic, social, cultural and political dependency between the industrial and poor nations is beyond the scope of this present analysis. It may be located in the voluminous literature on underdevelopment which has appeared in the last decade. However, several characteristics of these dependent relationships, both external and internal to Third World societies, can be summarized. Their impact upon the success and failures of externally-assisted community development projects can then lead to an identification of "appropriate" development strategies for community projects.

The economic dimensions of external dependency have been defined by a number of characteristics:

- by direct (and more recently indirect) control by foreign transnational corporations over the terms and pace of resource exploitation which in turn becomes the major engine for economic growth in the country;
- by a trade dependence on the export of a few raw material products to a major industrial country, with wildly fluctuating terms of trade for industrial and other imports, making social and economic planning impossible;
- by mounting external indebtedness to foreign banks and multilateral lending agencies to finance trade imbalances and sustain foreign investments;
- by dependence on imported technology largely related to the foreign-controlled resource sector;
- and by the external drain of income through profit and

interest repatriation to the industrial countries through the resource corporations, improper internal pricing policies of global corporations, externally-controlled shipping and other trade-related costs. (Kindervatter, 1979, pp. 27-30)

The orientation of the economies of developing countries to externally determined markets, has severely blocked their ability to make social and economic choices in development strategies geared more to meeting local human needs. For transnational corporations, the high-profit markets are not low-cost housing to clear urban slums, nor are they inexpensive and nutritious food or village medical care. Their investments instead orient national and international development priorities towards public expenditures on roads, hydroelectric power, harbours and government incentives for the import of technology for mining and agricultural plantations.

In the early 1970's the developing countries responded to increasing dependency through major proposals for a New International Economic Order. With the rich nations intent on maintaining their privileged position in the "old order", the Brandt Commission identified the key issue of development as one of economic and political power. The Commission challenged the "political will" of the industrial countries to confront the realities of their relationships with the developing nations -- "the numerous ways in which economic and even military strength confers on countries, organizations and corporations in the North the ability to manage the world economy in its own

favour". (Brandt, 1980, p. 65) The aid policies of donor countries and international institutions more often than not reinforce these very relationships. (See Payer, 1982)

The historical evolution of external forms of dependency has also had a profound impact on internal patterns and relationships within Third World societies. Along with the distortion of internal investment and production patterns away from the immediate needs of the rural and urban poor, the dependent development process has also gravely affected the evolution of social relations in these countries. It has meant the growth of a small urban elite and middle class, serving the interests of the "modern" export sector with related government services, along with the monopolization of the best lands in the rural areas for export crops rather than for meeting local food needs. The expansion of the resource sector and more recently manufacturing platforms for high technology exports is largely dependent on the availability of cheap surplus labour from massive unemployment in urban centres and landless labourers among the rural poor. Gross income inequalities and a small wealthy elite limit the market for the domestic production of cheap manufactures and encourage the import of Western luxury items at the expense of an industrial strategy aimed at the needs of the poor. Meanwhile in the rural areas, farming for local consumption remains bound in tradition at a subsistence level. In societies largely dependent on the produce of the land, the rural landless class expands and the small-hold farmers remain ever tied to debt obligations to local landlords

or state credit institutions. The consequence has been the marginalization of increasing proportions of the population in relation to an externally-oriented "modern sector" tied to Western economic institutions, and the diffusion of the values of the "consumer culture". More often than not, political and military repression, accompanied by gross violations of human rights, has been necessary to maintain this internal social order.

It is these social, economic and political realities for the poor which have led to the need to define the meaning of development as the transformation of the socio-economic environment within which Third World people live their lives.

III A DEFINITION OF DEVELOPMENT

Defining development in terms of a hierarchy of basic human needs (food, clothing, health, sanitation, water), has been a common approach of national and international development institutions in the 1970's. But if we are to relate these "basic needs" to the social, economic and political structures of underdevelopment discussed above, such an approach may in fact be only a refinement of the earlier "deficiency" models for development assistance. A Report of a United Nations Expert Group on Human and Social Development emphasized the broader dimensions of "basic needs" in development:

The objective of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of the people to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their potential. This implies meeting such needs as continuing employment, secure and adequate livelihood, more and better schooling, better medical

services, cheap transport, and a higher level of income. It also includes meeting non-material needs like the desire for self-determination, self-reliance, political freedom and security, participation in the making of decisions that affect workers and citizens, national and cultural identity, and a sense of purpose in life and work. (Quoted in Kindervatter, 1979, p. 40, emphasis added)

Seen in this light, development must mean a fundamental restructuring of the relationships between governments and citizens and between institutional donors and their project recipients. The critical aspect of the development process becomes one of control over that process. Development is thus a process of social transformation at both the national and local levels of a society which fundamentally involves power relationships, and not merely a cluster of economic and social benefits "given" to people in need.

An understanding of development as a process of social transformation is increasingly reflected in the programs of several Canadian non-governmental agencies. In reviewing its development policies, the Canadian Council of Churches saw the need for "radical changes to be made in developing countries", not only in terms of human rights, but "also in terms of incorporating those oppressed people, the poorest of the poor, in the decision-making structures within those nations themselves". They recognized the danger that projects, in the absence of these fundamental changes, could easily "strengthen the existing structures, the concentration of wealth and power in small elites, and the poor will not benefit". (Canada, Proceedings of the Special Committee on North South Relations, 1980). Both at a policy level and in their evaluations of

projects aimed at "basic needs" development for the poor, these agencies have been cognizant of the earlier community development experience of the 1950's which indicated that local and national structural barriers to greater social and economic equality must be tackled by rural poverty-focused community projects. (Holdcraft, 1978, p. 30)

Social transformation at the community level is not only a question of encouraging greater resource allocations to the poor to alleviate economic and social inequalities. If, as we have seen, development is also a social and political process involving greater popular participation in defining development "goals" for the community and larger society, it must also involve conscious human action to transcend a given social and political reality and move towards one which is perceived to be "more human and just". Development is inevitably a normative term which cannot ignore qualitative human value choices, how these choices are made, and by whom. (Goulet, 1975, Chapter 11)

Development then returns to the issue of control over the development process, the difference "between being the agent of one's own development as defined in one's own terms and being a mere beneficiary of development as defined by someone else". (Goulet and Hudson, 1971, p. 19) The notion of self-determination must be integral to the development process. The participation of the poor in relatively autonomous local institutions which would structure their influence over national/regional development policies that affect their lives is critical to the realization of the political capacity to

redirect the course of development in one's own community. It mirrors the demands for a New International Economic order to create an international environment supportive of national policies to restructure the economies of developing countries in ways appropriate to their own resources and needs. The meeting of the full range of human needs, material and non-material, as defined earlier by the United Nations, requires a self-reliant community praxis which challenges existing power relations with institutional structures for self-management and participation in decision-making by the formerly powerless within each community.

While community development projects and institutions may create economic conditions for increased employment, for increased agricultural productivity, or for greater material well-being for the poor within a given community, such projects will not fulfill the above development objectives if they do not sustain an empowering process. Empowerment has been defined as "people gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society." (Kindervatter, 1979, p. 150)

Evaluations of community economic development projects have repeatedly stressed the link between successful community economic development efforts and a process of community mobilization and education^e. (See in particular the review of Caribbean community initiatives below.) A former Field Officer in the Caribbean pointed to a study by the Inter-American Foundation of hundreds of their projects in Latin America and

the Caribbean:

"... they discovered that all the projects that were successful from a production point of view were projects that were successful in building a process into them of education and of involving the people in decision-making. So that, even for strictly economic goals, it is quite clear that unless the co-operative movement or local economic development projects actually involve community people in planning and implementation, then the project is not likely to succeed even in achieving its production/economic goals." (Interview, November 12, 1982)

Similarly both project workers and agency staff in the Caribbean emphasized the critical importance of local project leadership for successful projects. Such leadership was most effective when it drew support from and sustained vital community processes which actively involve members of the community in defining and meeting community needs.

A review of the experience of the co-operative movement in Third World countries stresses many similar principles. Verhagen points to a continuum of co-operative realities which move from externally-directed, state-control towards ones which see social inequality, democratic control and self-reliance as organizational principles rather than distant objectives. He concludes that "democratic control and self-reliance cannot be "built-in" at a later stage (e.g. through co-operative education) if they have not from the outset contributed to the effective functioning of the enterprise". (Verhagen, 1980, pp. 3-4) Effective participation by the poor is all the more important to prevent those with more resources and skills in the community from mobilizing the co-op structures to advance their

own social and economic circumstances, often to the detriment of the poor majority.

Democratic and effective participation of the poor in community projects and co-ops can be constrained by lack of experience and skills, which raises concerns for effective and successful management of the project. An evaluation of Caribbean projects stressed the importance of a carefully planned and dynamic management development process appropriate to the needs of each situation. Ineffective management can quickly demoralize and making meaningless an active role for participants.

People soon tire of participatory organization where they have even a great deal of participation in decision-making, but they never see any action or implementation of decisions. True participation must reach somehow to the action or implementation stage to get results. (Preliminary Report on Organizational Development Program with Jamaican LDA Project, 1982, p. 1)

Both participation and empowerment must be a conscious and structured process, one which is not left to chance, one which assures planning, implementation, appraisal, and above all, one which broadens the community base of both technical skills and social/political consciousness for local control of the development process.

IV THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AND STRUCTURES OF EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE

An alternative development process, aimed at economic development and social/political empowerment for the poor, poses a number of issues for donor agencies, both private and governmental. Some analysts would argue that funding "self-reliance" with external resources is a contradiction in terms and most often brings with it new forms of dependency. (Payer, 1982, p. 18) Moreover, their estimation of major government-assisted development efforts is that they have consistently imposed greater suffering on the poor, the very people they claim as beneficiaries. Large-scale resource projects, hydro-electric dams, the Green Revolution -- all have displaced large numbers of the rural poor from the land and forced many more into urban ghettos to seek menial wage labour at the margin of a modern sector.

Undeniably, the development efforts of the past three decades have tended to assist the elites of developing countries and the industries of the developed world rather than meet the needs of the poor. But there are nevertheless major donors who are sincerely concerned about the distributive justice of their projects. Often these projects are located in national/regional contexts where socio-economic structures perpetuate gross inequalities and underdevelopment. While donors may claim some success for particular projects, they should not be isolated from the overall impact of national and international development programs. The latter may be contributing to a

social situation that sustains the structures of dependency and underdevelopment while certain "successful" projects are pointed to as justification for increasing such foreign aid. There is no doubt that projects must be analyzed "in the light of the full effect of such foreign aid and not on the basis of one or two successes". (John Briscoe, 1980, p. 67) A study of health projects in Bangladesh concluded that success for these projects relied more on the involvement of exceptional local people than the importance of external inputs. (Ibid., p. 67)

Taking these cautions into account, our study suggests that community projects may be developed and sustained in such a way as to further a local (or even national) empowering process for the poor. But evaluations of such projects must not only take into account development as a process of social transformation; they must also analyze external relationships of dependency to donors from the perspective of this process and of the empowerment of the poor.

Donor agencies face many practical obstacles in the selection of effective poverty-focused rural projects. Poor rural people are hard to reach. Most often, they live in the remotest of areas; they are typically unorganized, inarticulate, frequently sick and poorly nourished. The rural (and urban poor) lack basic skills and have minimal formal education. Sometimes isolated geographically within their communities, the poor, especially women and children, are "invisible" to urban-based (foreign) development officials.

The tendency for the benefits of rural development projects to be captured by the rural elites for their own advantages has already been noted. This effect is not only the consequence of unequal relationships of power within a community or region, but also derives from the fact that the poor lack the resources to contribute effectively to co-operative development efforts. They lack the time to participate as their daily activity is taken up with basic survival. Their historical dependence on local "patrons" for survival in difficult times, for land and credit to grow subsistence crops, and for the definition of their social position within the community, all limit the capacity of the poor to effectively alter social and economic realities. Nevertheless, Holdcroft pointed to the experience of several relatively successful community development programs of the 1950's which suggest "that (poor) villagers will participate when they perceive that the benefits of the program will accrue to them". (Holdcroft, 1978, p. 30)

The unequal access to development resources for the poor is also significantly affected by the structures of the aid relationship. In the words of one analyst, "there seems to be a general law that the greater the amount of money spent and the shorter the period in which money has to be spent on a rural development program, the more likely it is that the rural elite will benefit disproportionately". (Chambers, p. 210) It is important to examine in more detail the structure of this relationship and to place it in the context of the parameters of community development projects.

While the rhetoric of support for poverty-focused project selection to meet the basic needs of the poor is pervasive among donor agencies, the realities of aid allocation for an agency such as CIDA do not give much credence to this objective. One assessment suggested in fact there has been little movement in allocations to meet this objective since its announcement in CIDA's 1975-80 Strategy. Agriculture and rural development made up less than 10% of Canada's total bilateral aid commitments in 1980 despite the preponderance of the poor in rural areas. The emphasis has continued to be with large infrastructural projects. The study concluded that "substantial Canadian investments in electrical power generation, transportation and water supply . . . seem very often to be of such a scale and sophistication that they have limited benefits in meeting the basic needs of the poorest people for food, water or energy". (North-South Institute, "The 1975-80 Strategy: Final Report Card", in In The Canadian Interest?, Ottawa, 1980, p. 10)

While the inherent difficulties in structuring and sustaining poverty-focused projects in rural areas may be one factor, the relationships of dependency and accountability² between donors and recipients of community project assistance, and the potential for incompatibility of interests, must also be examined. The following chart graphically outlines the flow of dependency and power in the donor-community project relationship. The selection process for projects, the financing and accountability needs of donors, and the divergence of interests between donor institutions and countries and the

community development process, all reinforce dependency.

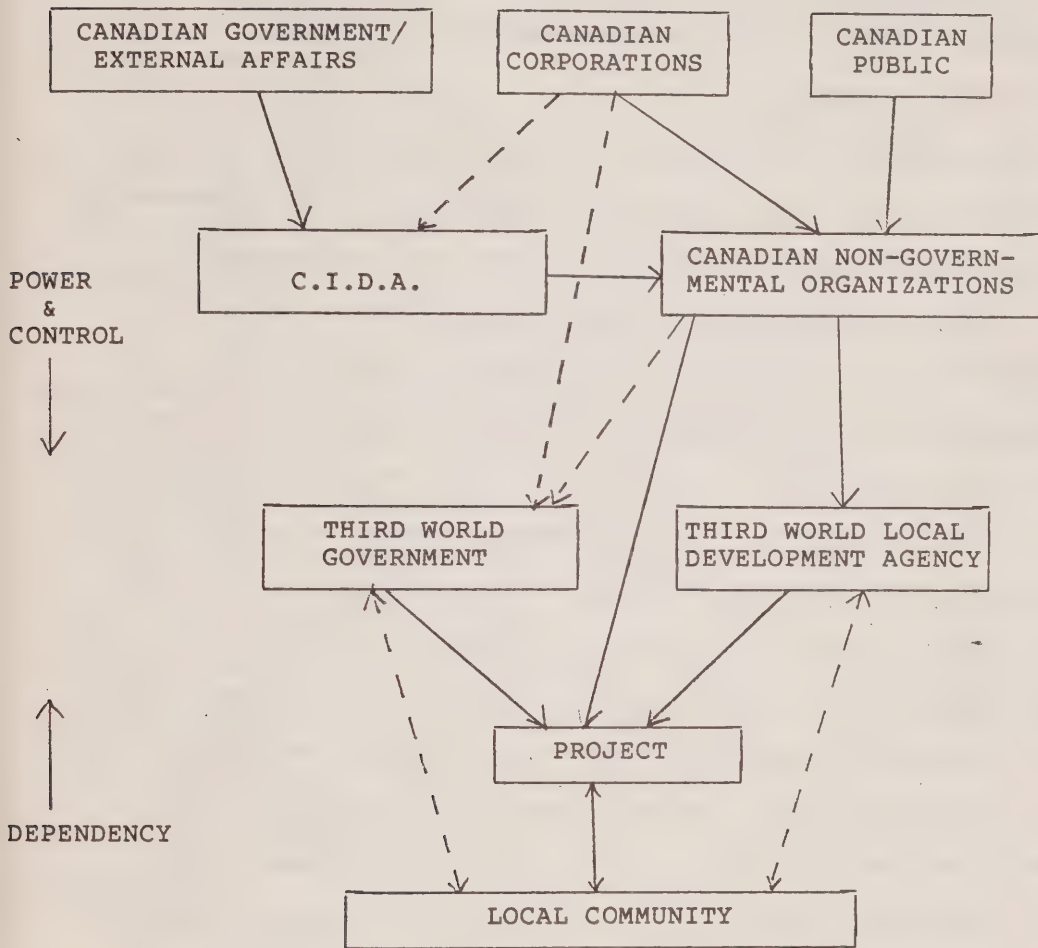


CHART 1 STRUCTURES OF POWER AND DEPENDENCY IN THE
DONOR-COMMUNITY PROJECT RELATIONSHIP

The needs of donor agencies and the resources which they bring to bear on their project relationship often mirror the global inequalities between rich and poor. Donors from rich industrialized countries are institutionally powerful, well organized, concentrated in urban centres of both the industrial

and Third World countries, and are staffed by well-educated, articulate development "experts". Inevitably these factors come to influence their choice of projects and their institutional relationship to them.

The control of the donor over the establishment of the priorities of its aid program is fundamental to the dependency relationship. In the words of Kari Levitt, "the system (of aid), as presently operating, is biased in favour of the perceptions of administrators, planners, consultants and contractors who slide through the elegant jungle of the office towers (CIDA) of Hull". (Levitt, p. 231) While within the aid bureaucracy there is seldom agreement on these priorities (and the bureaucracy as a whole often comes into conflict with the priorities of Canada's policies in External Affairs, trade priorities, and the activities of Canadian corporations abroad), nevertheless the agency is able to effectively co-ordinate and control the benefits of its aid program. A position paper prepared by the Secretariat of the Eastern Caribbean Common Market suggested that this co-ordination of activities among donors in dealing with recipients means that "decisions relating to the development plans and strategies of the recipients are increasingly controlled by the donor countries":

The structure of the system of international aid is such that all too often the donor countries effectively determine the projects that are implemented (since they choose the projects they want to fund), when different phases will come on stream (disbursement schedules not being necessarily in line with recipients' requirements, but determined by donors) and sometimes how projects are implemented

(in the sense that alternative methods are not always fully thrashed out by both donor and recipient, but a particular approach is decided upon by the donor country, which is simply accepted by the recipient. (emphasis in original text) (Quoted in Levitt, 1982, pp. 238-9)

Large national and international donor agencies are structurally tied to what has been described as the "big project trap". Their own accountability requirements mean that above all they need to assure that money is "well spent" and projects have an international visibility for their respective governments and the global development academia. Thus, project preference moves inevitably towards large-scale infrastructure. Such projects enable the rapid spending of aid budgets subject to pressures to spend quickly; they are suitable for cost-benefit analysis, easy to monitor, and relate to evaluation criteria needed to justify increased agency budgets; many are capital-intensive and thus require high import content from the donor countries; and they reap highly visible results for politicians and civil servants in both donor and recipient countries.

The structures and procedures for project design, appraisal, selection and performance evaluation for donor agencies similarly may remove power and control from recipients (particularly community projects) to national and international development institutions. Project design is most clearly affected by the degree to which CIDA bilateral programs are tied to purchases of capital goods and services here in Canada. Canadian bilateral aid allocations cannot be used by recipients

to directly provide for local costs. Levitt describes the development impact of this policy:

The problem concerning local costs illustrates the fact that the rules which govern aid can result in arrangements which are obviously sub-optimal from a development viewpoint. If aid is available only for the foreign costs component of a project, there will be a tendency for projects with a high foreign cost component to be preferred to those with a low foreign cost component. All other things being equal, it is evident that the project with the larger local cost component will provide more employment, income and experience in the developing country, while the project with the larger foreign cost component will provide more employment and income in the donor country. (Levitt, 1982, p. 225-6)

The tying of aid to Canadian purchases not only reduces its impact on local resource utilization and employment creation; it also distorts project design towards the use of inappropriate materials. Levitt's analysis of Canadian aid programs in the Caribbean pointed to the inappropriate design of Caribbean schools built according to Canadian models. They started to run down as soon as they were completed. In her words, "they are a sorry sight, and a monument to a conception of aid which is more concerned with the prestige of putting a building in place, and the profit derived by Canadian architects, contracts and suppliers of building materials, than the service to be provided by that facility over its life time". (Levitt, 1982, p. 228)

The use of consultants from donor countries (and Third World consultants trained in the development institutions of these countries) most often leads to an insensitivity to local social conditions, to the availability of local materials, and to appropriate development models. But as well, the

complexities of donor selection and appraisal makes necessary the direct intervention of agency personnel in the project development process. Rondinelli examined the World Bank, U.S. AID and the U.N.D.P. and concluded that their role most often accentuated dependency and external control.

The direct intervention of international agencies in project preparation is in part a response to the severe deficiencies in planning and project analysis skills in developing nations, but the "deficiencies" are in a sense artificially created by the complexity of the international procedures. Project preparation guidelines are designed to ensure that proposals are compatible with lending institution policies, procedures and requirements; and as such have become instruments of control rather than aid. And as those procedures become more numerous and complex, further demands are placed on the limited planning and administrative capacity of developing nations, making them more dependent on foreign personnel . . ."
(Rondinelli, 1976, p. 3, emphasis added)

Procedural delays, compounded by the need for pre-feasibility studies, feasibility studies, economic viability studies, and then project selection not only create frustration and add to the costs of projects; they also sustain pressures for donors to spend on the most accessible projects and those developed by personnel with formal development "expertise".

Project appraisal technique may also serve to reinforce inappropriate aid priorities. While these may be technically sufficient, they are insensitive to the broader socio-economic impacts. Large-scale projects are sometimes subject to early political decisions before any appraisals can be carried out. Cost-benefit analysis at that point only improves technical choices between alternative designs. Payer in her analysis of the World Bank's support for building hydro-electric dams in the

Phillipines notes that:

the cost of compensating and resettling existing populations on sites of proposed reservoirs is an important factor which influences planners' choice of sites, but the "costs" now considered are the narrow ones of minimal expenditures on the relocation of powerless peoples, whereas a true social cost accounting would take into account the production foregone in perpetuity from the inundation of the lands as well as noneconomic considerations such as the value of cultural diversity. (Payer, 1982, p. 22)

But the attempt to add social criteria to technical cost-benefit analysis can also be subject to difficult and unpredictable methodological judgments that reflect the predilections of the analyst/consultant rather than the social/economic context of the project for the poor. Chambers concludes that these factors leave the appraisal more open to political manipulation so that the social and economic costs to those directly affected may be rationalized. (Chambers, 1978, p. 212) The selection of evaluation and performance criteria by donors may be equally inappropriate to the needs being addressed by and the constraints of a project. External evaluation, outside the control of project participants, reinforces a power/dependency structure by providing information about lower levels of structures (projects, communities) to the dominant institutions in the structure.

The point of the above analysis is not to cast aspersions upon the intentions of donor agencies. Rather, there appears to be a divergence in the aims and conditions confronting donors and recipients that may seriously constrain the success of community-based economic development projects. Donors respond

and sustain projects which most easily provide for efficient expenditures of their money and for administrative/financial accountability. Project participants are concerned with the effectiveness of the project in securing their economic and social objectives (including their empowerment vis-a-vis external forces). Other community members are often more concerned about the project's accountability to the community as a whole. An analysis and understanding of the potential incompatibility of these aims and objectives is essential if project participants are to increase their control over their work and make each level of the structure more accountable to the levels beneath it.

The experience of rural development projects suggests a range of characteristics that seem to contribute to a more effective transformation of the poor's socio-economic reality and to an empowering development process. These projects are most often small-scale, community-oriented, and involve the creation of local level institutions. They are most effective when they assist poor people to support one another and to organize themselves, when they generate local labour-intensive economic activities that provide alternative sources of income for landless labourers in the off-season, and when they emphasize skills training that combines effective project management with organizational development for democratic participant control. While integrating external resources to break development "bottlenecks", community-oriented projects must build upon the local resource base of the area in which the project is situated. (Chambers, p. 210)

The project emphasis ^{should be} is on building local institutions -- whether they be agricultural organizations of small farmers or landless labourers, local associations of women, or productive co-operatives. However, Verhagen has noted the potential contradictions for co-operatives among the landless labourers:

The cooperative (for landless labourers) can provide an organizational basis for political action directed towards structural changes. It is apparent, however, that co-operation for an economic purpose can also be an impediment to more advanced political mobilization. By being co-opted into an elite circle and becoming integrated into a basically unjust economic order, co-operatives can become its stabilizing elements. (Verhagen, 1980, p. 24)

To avoid these pitfalls, the project/co-operative must incorporate a structured "empowerment" process. Such an organizational development process has a number of characteristics -- it emphasizes small group activity and autonomy formed on the basis of consciously recognized common interests; it builds structures for an increasing transfer of responsibilities for decision-making and implementation to group members; it stresses participant training, not only for assuming practical project responsibilities but also for skills in day-to-day democratic and non-hierarchical project relationships; and it integrates group participant reflection and action aimed at greater self-reliance and an enhanced economic and social position for participants. For such a process to evolve, it must take people where they are, their experience, level of skill, their social and political consciousness, and must develop with project participants at their own pace. (Kindervatter, 1979, pp. 153-4) As well, experience suggests

that participants in co-operatives should make a commitment of their own resources, however minimal. A study by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), The Small Farmer Development Study, concluded that "resource commitment on a voluntary basis, in conjunction with participant decision-making, is the most important factor for project success". (Verhagen, 1980, p. 7)

For donors, such project characteristics have a number of implications. In contrast to large-scale, capital-intensive programs (e.g. large-scale hydro dams for rural/industrial electrification), the poverty-focused project is small and its programs are highly dispersed. With a local institutional emphasis, donors must expect higher project administrative costs and the integration of local skills development on an on-going basis. With greater geographical dispersion and an emphasis on qualitative relationships and social development, such projects have inherent difficulties for monitoring and evaluation with standard technical, socio-economic indicators. Chambers concludes that "geographic dispersal, uncertainties about implementation, low project costs, and the large number of localized projects combine to make standard complex techniques for project appraisal both expensive and inappropriate". (Chambers, 1978, p. 10) Donor imperatives to make project allocations during a fixed program budget year may conflict with slow project implementation, with major logistic problems in remote areas, and with the pace of the project determined by the level and nature of local participation.

How may the donor-recipient relationship be structured to encourage sustained poverty-focused economic development at the community level? The decentralization of power and control within the aid relationship seems to be fundamental. In her review of Canadian aid programs in the Caribbean Kari Levitt strongly supported the decentralization of decision-making to CIDA officers in the Caribbean for small and medium sized projects (\$500,000 to \$2 million). Coupled with the untying of aid from the purchase of Canadian goods and services this move would allow for greater project flexibility, more rapid approval procedures, and greater sensitivity to local needs and resources. (Levitt, 1982, pp. 235-7) Yet even this level of decentralization may not meet the needs of community-based development. One observer has noted that CIDA tries not to become involved in projects below the \$250,000 level because they take up too much administrative time. At this level of funding, they will be more receptive to regional inter-mediary groups rather than a village project. The allocation of large-scale resources to these groups "tends to centralize things" and they "will drift away from letting local people be involved in planning or control". (Interview, November 12, 1982) At yet another level, the former President of CIDA, Marcel Mass , recognized that "(Canadian) non-governmental organizations are more efficient at . . . the village or local level". They are "more efficient at creating the type of development that is long-term, self-sufficient, low cost" through projects that are more labour-intensive "because it is

based on the ability of individuals to pass on the knowledge they have themselves about the local situation". (Canada, Standing Committee for External Affairs and National Defence, 1982, p. 27)

Through the following case studies we will examine more concretely all the foregoing dimensions of dependency in relationships of development assistance. With this experience we will then be able to identify those factors which sustain economic and social development at the community level.

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CASE STUDIES

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**LOCAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES AND COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
A CARIBBEAN CASE STUDY**

The English-speaking Caribbean offers a particularly rich community development experience. It is one which suggests the critical importance of the dependency context within which economic development takes place. Persistent underdevelopment and the material impoverishment of a largely rural population has^{VC} been the consequence of four centuries of Caribbean dependence on European and North American investment, markets and technology for economic and social advancement. The legacy of colonialism and dependency has been a social and economic crisis to which employment-generating community development projects must respond. During the past decade international development assistance, particularly from non-governmental development agencies from both the developed countries and from the Caribbean, has stressed productive employment generation in the rural areas. Here, community projects have often related increasing food production to meeting other basic needs for the poorest sectors of the population.

The case study outlined below is one such program. It is a program supported by CUSO, a Canadian non-governmental organization which has been active in the Caribbean for more than twenty years. Both in its evolution and its intra-Caribbean diversity, it suggests a range of issues and solutions related to donor-community project relationships. As a practical application of an "alternative" model for community

economic development, it speaks to such issues as the community process of empowerment in development, the nature of community skills development through economic and social projects, and the relationship of locally controlled development agencies (LDA's) to a vital community process.

Two Local Development Agencies*, one in St. Vincent and one in Jamaica, provide some contrasting perspectives on the role of LDA's in stimulating and sustaining community economic enterprises. These two experiences support success and failure factors that relate to the constraints and problems faced by community project participants, to the role of the LDA's, and to the interests of donor agencies such as CUSO in the community development process. But first, the priorities of these two local development agencies must be situated within a short analysis of the present development crisis in the Caribbean, the structure of the rural social economy, and the nature of the aid relationship for Caribbean development.

A. The Socio-Economic Context for Caribbean Development

The English-speaking Caribbean shares a common social, economic and cultural identity which is rooted in more than 400 years of plantation colonialism. This historical legacy, in

* Information concerning these two Local Development Agencies was provided on the understanding that they would not be specifically identified in the case study. Given the CUSO Caribbean Program commitment to indigenous control over the development programs on each island and to participatory self-evaluation, any further identification would have required more thorough consultation and participation of the LDA's in the case study than both time and budget permitted. Information is based on extensive review of written materials and interviews with both CUSO and LDA staff members who were available here in Canada.

- 3 -

which "European capital and management combined with African slave labour provided the basis for utilizing fertile lands of the region to produce agricultural raw materials (primarily sugar) for trans-shipment to Europe" (Beckford, 1975, p. 80), defines the region's external dependency and rural underdevelopment. All food, consumer and capital goods were imported from Europe to maintain the metropolitan consumption patterns of European plantation managers. Slaves were sustained at a basic subsistence level with food they themselves provided by working marginal provision grounds. All economic surpluses generated by plantations flowed back to European absentee landlords.

The emancipation of slaves in 1838 created a free-hold peasant sector (joining a small group of free settlers and Maroons (run-away slaves)) and laid the basis for the present socio-economic structures of the rural areas. The plantations, however, continued to control the best agricultural land for sugar exports while the freed slaves cultivated marginal land around the estates or joined the Maroons in the more mountainous country. To the present day, the underdevelopment of the peasant sector is closely related to its very narrow resource base in the agricultural economy -- whether they are employed in the production of local foodstuffs or export crops. The following table indicates the extent of concentration of the best land among a small wealthy Caribbean elite and foreign-owned plantations, and the plight of the poorest farmers.

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS: SIZE AND PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED LAND

		Small Peasant Less than 5 Acres	Plantations Over 500 Acres
Barbados	Percentage of all farms	98.3	0.2
	Percentage of farmland	13.4	31.3
Dominica	Percentage of all farms	75.2	0.3
	Percentage of farmland	13.2	32.2
Jamaica	Percentage of all farms	78.6	0.2
	Percentage of farmland	14.9	44.9
St. Vincent	Percentage of all farms	89.0	0.1
	Percentage of farmland	27.0	24.2

Source: Agricultural Statistics of Caribbean Countries, 1976,
CEPAL/POS/76/5 in Casimir 1981, p. 136

Demographic pressure among an expanding rural population has led to the further sub-division of what little land is available and has created a class of landless rural labourers whom the plantations are able to secure at subsistence wages.

Small plots have meant that this land is unable to support all members of the peasant families with land providing a basic level of income. Some have migrated to urban slums where income is often derived from informal economic activity (e.g. street vending). Those who remain in the rural areas must also combine several economic activities -- minor cash crop production, seasons work on plantations and larger farms, intermittent or seasonal work in the tourist industry, mining activities, or village handicraft industry -- in order to subsist. On several islands, particularly in the Eastern Caribbean, the small-scale peasant sector has become highly dependent on the production of export crops such as bananas, nutmeg, cocoa,

and lime. But such dependency has only added to their economic insecurity and social marginalization. As global agribusiness corporations have come to dominate the production of export crops such as sugar, they have also continued to control the marketing and conditions for the production of these more recent export crops. With respect to the latter, peasant producers have assumed all the natural and economic risks of agricultural production while at the same time they have no control over falling international prices for their products.

A report prepared for the Caribbean Development Bank noted that the small-scale producer "operates not simply at a distinct disadvantage but at the mercy of the estate sector, in terms of the availability of land, capital, farm inputs, and infrastructure facilities such as roads" (Quoted in Casimir, 1981, p.136). Metropolitan and Caribbean banks have tended to serve the more profitable plantation, mining and tourist sectors. Meanwhile, peasant producers "have had little access to outside financial capital and have had to rely almost exclusively on their limited savings and personal loans from friends and relatives" (Beckford, 1975, p. 88). On islands where export crops dominate and high cost food imports make up more than 15% of total import bills, small scale farmers face a number of barriers if they wish to orient their activities towards the internal food market. The most notable deficiency has been inadequate marketing arrangements. In addition, most government agricultural support programs to supply fertilizers, spraying, research and extension services have been for export

crops rather than domestic foodstuff. (Casimir, 1975, p. 136) The decline of local processing of crops and transportation systems between villages, has produced a local social context where small-scale farmers compete against each other for scarce markets for their crops and limited resources for improving their productivity. Social isolation, both within and between rural communities, has been the consequence of both competitiveness and a sense of powerlessness with respect to government and corporate control of the directions of agricultural development. The external orientation of island economies towards metropolitan markets has severely limited more balanced and self-reliant regional development priorities, with intra-regional trade never exceeding 8% of Caribbean external trade. (Intra-island social, cultural and political relationships have also been severely retarded as a consequence.) These economies, and within them, most particularly the rural and urban poor, nevertheless share an extreme vulnerability to declining crop earnings in metropolitan markets.

The rural crisis of underdevelopment has grave social and human consequences. Between 1970 and 1980, real income, used to provide basic foods, health and other human needs, declined by 40%. The ensuing social impact is compounded by the grossly unequal distribution of this income. The lowest 40% of income-earners in the Commonwealth Caribbean received about 10% of national income, while the top 20% received about 55%. (CUSO Brief, 1982, p. 6) Unemployment also accentuates the social crisis. Using Jamaica as an example, the official unemployment

rate reached more than 30% by 1980. One study has calculated that fully 55% of the Jamaican labour force (approximately three quarters of the employed labour force) could be considered under-employed in 1978. When these figures were added to the open unemployment Gafar concluded that "over 80% of the labour force was below the poverty line". As on other islands, more than one half of the unemployed in Jamaica was in the 14 to 24 age group. While agriculture remained the largest employer of labour, the Gafar study noted that the decline of agricultural labour under cultivation and a steady migration of population from the rural to urban areas accentuated unemployment and under-employment in the economy as a whole (J. Gafar, pp. 773-785)

B. The Rural Economic Crisis, Youth and Community Development Projects

The experience of small-scale farmers, agricultural workers and the urban poor, who form the majority of the population in the Caribbean, has been one of steady erosion of the quality of life with little prospect for social advancement. This experience has been particularly acute for youth over the past decade. The expansion of educational facilities in the last twenty years has created an educated population with higher aspirations than previous generations in the context of growing unemployment. Social statistics and an evaluation of the Caribbean education system revealed that only 15% of the

population actually finished high school and that many of these could not find work utilizing their skills. (CUSO Brief, 1982, p. 5) This system trained young people for clerical and bureaucratic jobs at the same time as the public sector employment stagnated with the economic recessions of the 1970's. Thus, young school leavers often lacked practical skills and had poor work habits from long histories of unemployment.

At the same time, youth, farmers and the urban unemployed responded to the social crisis of the 1970's with self-organized small-scale community projects to create productive employment opportunities for themselves. These projects have been based in local communities and have most often involved agricultural production and local processing of food crops, utilitarian crafts, and light manufacturing. The organization of production co-operatives in these areas has taken into account the under-utilization of land resources on some islands, the excessive dependence on foods and "metropolitan" consumer goods imports, the technical skills of some of the unemployed youth, and the need to train others in co-operative production. Evaluations have noted the effectiveness of these projects:

The development of small projects for unemployed youth . . . provides usually a greater development of human resources as the youth learn to manage their projects in a democratic manner. It also often leads to the harnessing of local resources of the area in which the project is located. (Case study of Jamaica LDA Project, 1982, p. 1)

The experience of community development in St. Vincent provides an interesting perspective on some of the factors which have assured the success of those economic and social development projects at the local level.

Community development in parts of St. Vincent emerged out of attempts in the early 1970's to form an inter-island resource group to work directly with rural people towards social transformation at the community level. This was a decentralized process where members of the resource groups were rooted in a specific rural area of their island and began to give some leadership within these rural communities. After several years, the experiment had failed on three of the four islands chosen -- mostly because of the lack of economic resources, inappropriate leadership and project skills, and the particular economic and political circumstances of the island in question. However, for St. Vincent, the group had successfully maintained its specific roots in a community in which it chose to work and expanded its involvement with other community projects across the island.

In the first St. Vincent community, the group worked closely with women to establish a pre-school and organized a snackette which served local food. They established a collective farm drawing on local unemployed youth. There, they developed production in several food crops and began to experiment with appropriate technology for food drying and processing and for chalk production. A critical element in determining their success was their relationship to the community: projects emerged out of the felt needs of community

members themselves and were not solely a spontaneous creation of members of the resource group. For example, it was clear that the nutritional level of the people in the area was not very high. Since most were producing for the market, they would sell their produce when harvested. They had no means to preserve food for when the dry season came so that local food could be available year-round. The project to install solar drying technology for local food drying emerged out of an analysis by community members of the existing situation and out of the need to improve nutritional levels.

The depth of community involvement varied with the nature of the project. Nevertheless, the experience suggests that a dynamic and community-controlled process was essential to their relative success. A close observer of this community process noted the inter-relationship of the projects with different aspects of community members' lives.

"There are committees in the community where people discuss community problems and what they want to do about them. The pre-school came out of the numerous community meetings. That doesn't mean that everyone in the community was present. These were mainly meetings with groups of women in the village who identified one thing they wanted and they became committed to seeing a pre-school realized. So there is lots of parent involvement in that pre-school. The snackette, on the other hand, probably came out of a smaller committee who were talking about nutrition education. Rather than do nutrition education in the abstract, they choose to do this. The snackette, has become a social centre -- they have a bar and games. They use some of the produce which is grown on the experimental community farm." (Interview, October 15, 1982).

As this particular community development experience became known, the group continued its focus on this one village while

its successes and their skills were increasingly shared with other communities as consultants. It is out of this and other community-based experiences that the St. Vincent Local Development Agency was born and the latter became the form through which the expansion of their work became possible. We shall return to examine some of the characteristics of this development below.

As a second example of social development projects, the formation, development and subsequent abolition of sugar worker co-operatives in Jamaica is not only a formative process for the Jamaican Local Development Agency but an interesting community development process in its own right. It speaks to the critical influence which government policy directions can have in the subsequent success and failure of co-operatives. In the early 1970's, 23 sugar worker production co-operatives were formed on the land of three of the largest private sugar plantations. They were the consequence of pressure from the organization of sugar workers on these estates and a convergence with the policy orientation of the Manley government to more equally distribute the benefits of sugar production. The government initially proposed to lease 20 to 25 acre plots to individual farmers and for these farmers to share co-operatively-run services. But with the support of a church-based organization whose aim was to stimulate co-operative development at the grass-roots level, sugar workers had been organized across estate boundaries to press for co-operative farming as well as service structures. By 1974, the government had agreed to abandon its initial

proposal of individual tenure in favour of 23 co-operative farms (involving 5000 workers and 45,000 acres of sugar land) to control both estate farming operations and the estate management through joint co-operative structures. The co-operatives were strongly supported by the sugar workers. But they were resisted by the former managers of the estates, medium-scale farmers and rural leaders in the area, and some government officials, all of whom wanted to maintain management prerogatives on the estates and individual tenure. While their resistance was largely unsuccessful with respect to the estate co-operatives themselves which were controlled by the sugar workers, they were able to prevent the expansion of the co-op movement into the sugar mills. This proved important as the management staff in the government-controlled National Sugar Company was able effectively to restrict the amount of sugar refined from the co-op estates by favouring private farmers' access to their limited refining capacity.

The sugar estate co-operatives received vital support from organizers with experience in co-operative education work, management development, media and organizational linkages between co-operatives, and project funding. Once the co-operatives had been formally established, the community/co-operative organizers worked closely with the sugar workers' organizations to develop technical education programs around the principles of co-operative worker control, the problems and benefits of co-operative economic activity, budgeting and financial control. Many of these technical areas were of vital

importance for workers unfamiliar with budgets and balance sheets. Moreover, ordinary workers were at a severe disadvantage in these areas, as day-to-day co-op management often was assumed by some former estate managers who used traditional management techniques to control the co-ops. A critical contribution of the co-op resource people lay in the human relations/group dynamics aspect of organizational development and education programs. Through these programs, they began to break down the hostility of former estate managers and supervisors who saw their former power eroded and challenged by sugar workers through the co-operative structure of authority. The education programs for organizational development elaborated an action-oriented problem-solving process that involved the co-op participants in identifying problem areas, in establishing co-operative management solutions, and in the monitoring of actions and results.

As in St. Vincent, this work with the sugar co-operatives gained recognition and stimulated the creation of a Jamaican Local Development Agency to expand its resources and services to a wider range of projects throughout the island. At the same time, the change in government in 1979 led to a major political offensive against the sugar co-ops. The new government declared them bankrupt and transferred their assets to direct government control, stating their intent to eventually turn them over to the private sugar sector. In choosing this direction, the recently elected Seaga government was implementing the recommendations of the World Bank and private sugar

transnationals (e.g. Gulf and Western) to cut costs by reducing its financial commitments to support the co-operatives and national sugar industry. Their action ignored independent assessments of the co-operatives as financially viable given the context of a declining international price for sugar, the need for investment in more model mills to increase their capacity, and for technical assistance to the co-operatives. One analyst of the demise of the co-ops pointed to "the failure of government to provide the local and foreign exchange to replace spare parts and continue renovating and modernizing . . . and to provide loans to small farmers to replant hundreds of acres hit by smut and rust disease" (GATT-Fly, 1982, p. 3). The sugar co-ops were compromised by both internal and external pressures and in a hostile public policy environment and they could not sustain economic or social/political resistance to these pressures. As we shall see below, their demise also had important implications for the community promoters involved with the co-ops and the Jamaican Local Development Agency which emerged in part from their experience.

C. The Aid Relationship and Local Development Agencies

The program emphasis of official development assistance to the Caribbean over the past decade has been one of employment generation in both the rural and urban sectors. In meeting this objective, CIDA's own priority has been to assist the "productive sectors" of agriculture, industry and tourism. (CIDA, Canadians in the Third World: CIDA's Year in Review, 1981-82, 1983, pp. 27-28) American AID programs for the

Caribbean in the last four years are even more explicit in their strategy to increase the role of the private (and foreign-owned) sector in employment creation and development. One recent analysis of these traditional "development" strategies concluded that capital-intensive resource investments have created few permanent jobs. In Jamaica, for example, the Seaga government is actively seeking foreign investment in export-oriented agricultural projects and mineral resource developments. It was reported that more than 470 investment proposals have been received; yet, even if all were realized, total job creation would amount to 37,000 jobs in a country where unemployment and underemployment is running at 250,000. The report added that in fact only a marginal number of these projects were expected to go beyond the proposal stage. (Washington Post, October 23, 1981) As well, an orientation of agricultural assistance towards large-scale state production of export crops accentuates the severe concentration of the best agricultural land among a wealthy elite and foreign-owned plantations and adds to the plight of the poorest farmers. (Levitt, 1982, pp. 163-64).

Where CIDA has made a serious attempt to support employment generation at the community level, it has faced the operational inflexibilities and bureaucratic policy constraints noted in our earlier discussion of the structure affecting external assistance (see Introduction, pp. 16-27) In contrast, CUSO, working as an independent non-governmental organization in the Caribbean, has moved towards an alternative employment strategy which in turn has effectively re-structured its relationship to development partners in its Caribbean program.

During the early 1970's CUSO's program in the Caribbean stressed a centralized volunteer placement of Canadians, particularly teachers, in technical assistance programs. The raison d'etre for this program saw the supplying of skills to increasing numbers of high school students as the technical base from which to expand their involvement in Caribbean development. But by the mid-1970's both the demand for teachers fell off as Caribbean institutions produced their own teachers and the development consequences of the program came into question. With rising youth unemployment, teacher placements in the formal school system seemed to be perpetuating inappropriate occupational skills among youth and was not geared towards the provision of practical skills needed to generate employment among youth. As a result of internal evaluations and policy discussions, by 1975 CUSO had re-oriented its Caribbean program to stress skills training and employment generation through community production co-operatives. Since then its program has created 500 jobs and in the 1982 - 1985 period their objective is to create 1000 more jobs.

The initial selection of projects in the early phases of the new program was often ad hoc based on prior contacts with Caribbean promoters of community development on various islands, including those involved in the St. Vincent and Jamaican examples of community development mentioned earlier. The required support for 12 production/employment projects in agriculture, crafts and light manufacturing were worked out in direct meetings between project holders and the CUSO field

staff. Their needs ranged from access to fixed and operating capital, technical skills, managerial skills, marketing capacity, animation and group-building skills for cooperative participation (CUSO Caribbean, 1979-82 Regional Plan, 1979). Training components were a critical aspect of each of the 12 production projects. Nevertheless, a recent review of these projects found that many of the production co-operatives had failed to become self-sustaining. As was the case with the sugar co-operatives in Jamaica, some had failed because of changing government policy and global economic conditions beyond the immediate control of the project. But for many, inappropriate and weak co-operative management, the absence of organizational skills and inexperienced leadership, were critical actors. (CUSO Caribbean, 1982 - 85 Regional Plan, 1982) During the same period, Caribbean-based local development agencies were emerging often out of the very community projects that were receiving assistance from CUSO.

In the context of supporting small-scale community projects, CUSO recognized that it did not have the organizational capacity, the information, and the community experience to respond to the day-to-day needs and problems which these projects face. As indigenous local development agencies (LDA's) came out of the experience of community promoters in production projects, they too recognized the needs of these projects, both in terms of local community co-operative skills training, and in terms of meeting the requirements of external funding sources. Thus, instead of a direct relationship to each

project, CUSO sought to "localize" their financial and resource support for community projects through local development agencies. By supporting the latter's program and structures, CUSO began to contribute to indigenous education programs for community development workers and project participants, farmers associations, production co-operatives, in order to strengthen appropriate management and leadership skills. Program "localization" recognized that long-term employment projects are better planned and supported by local personnel familiar with the local peculiarities of social and economic circumstances. Organizational development programs have been implemented by LDA's to transmit production, management and marketing strategies that are relevant to small community enterprises in a Caribbean socio-economic environment. "Localization" also completes a policy of decentralization of program decision-making authority within CUSO itself.

As a development institution, CUSO has maintained a highly decentralized process for program development for each area of the Third World where it is active. Regional field staff play an instrumental role in developing the priorities and detailed plans for their region. Such a policy recognizes that field staff, while accountable to a Canadian secretariat and to CUSO's national Board of Directors, are better placed to respond effectively to immediate (and sometimes rapidly changing) development circumstances in their region. The localization of the CUSO Caribbean program would not have been possible outside the realities of this decentralized decision-making process.

"Localization" in the Caribbean has also meant the creation of a Regional Planning Group made up of representatives from each of the four LDA's supported by CUSO and CUSO's Regional staff. This Group meets regularly to plan and evaluate the directions of CUSO's Caribbean program, to respond to new project/program proposals, and to share project information, resources, skills and experience among themselves to further the work of each LDA. In many respects it is a rather unique structure, one which we shall return to in the following section. It provides a basis for donor-recipient accountability which corresponds to a more equitable and inter-dependent sharing of development experience.

D. Caribbean Local Development Agencies and Community Production Projects

Rather than detail all aspects of the relationship of LDA's to community projects and to funding agencies (CUSO), we shall focus on several factors which seem to have determined their success and/or failure to stimulate community economic development. In making this assessment, we shall draw upon a comparative experience of the St. Vincent LDA and the Jamaican LDA, both of which are participants in the CUSO program.

In summary, the focus will be the following:

- 1) the relationship of the LDA to an indigenous community process to further self-reliant development and empowerment;

related a dynamic group formation process at the community level. The animator described this group formation process and its relationship to the union and its revolving fund:

" . . . the next step would be to take the group through an initial education program, maybe a series of educational sessions, concentrating mainly on the issues that these same people would have raised during individual conversations with myself. From these sessions we gave them a chance to plan more. What would they like to do next? We would try to find appropriate resource persons to bring what information they might need. From that situation they would begin to come to the movement's meetings, eventually understanding its procedures and guidelines, and then make application for loans based on that understanding". (Interview, November 8, 1982)

Groups rather than individuals have been encouraged to apply for loans and as a group should decide how best to use this money.

"So we have had situation where a group of say 12 people borrow \$1200 and among themselves decided to lend that \$1200 to two people from that group. But as far as the movement is concerned the group of 12 is responsible for the repayment . . . The group of 12 would have priority in terms of this money through labour they might put into work on the land of the 2 members. But we also have situations where the entire group would be responsible for using the fund through a joint project together". (Ibid.)

Projects for funding through the St. Vincent LDA emerged out of this group/community process of needs identification. The animator for the farmers' organization followed up the drafting of a project with the group involved, assisted them to make a presentation to the organization as a whole for their support, and then brought it to the projects assessment committee of the St. Vincent LDA. The latter might in turn suggest further issues to be worked through with the group and then the LDA will forward the project for funding to international agencies.

The second component to a community animation role for the St. Vincent LDA has been to emphasize the importance of a popular education process in its direct programs with community projects and participating organizations. To lay the foundation for an understanding of alternative approaches to development community, conscientization must be seen as a primary need -- the building of community solidarity around an understanding of those social, economic and political forces which maintain poverty and underdevelopment. In this, they are quite explicit:

"We set up (the St. Vincent LDA) basically to address the educational question and the projects we may serve are also vehicles for assuring that our educational work continues and not the other way around, not as ends in themselves. While we try as much as possible to assure a certain economic success, that is the desire of everyone, we don't anticipate 100% success. We don't feel defeated if we don't have that. The priority is to pass on some education which will surpass that economic help that you might put in". (Interview, November 8, 1982)

It is these aspects of a dynamic community animation function which have largely assured the success of the St. Vincent LDA in the economic development projects which have been supported through its participating organizations.

While successful in many aspects of its work, the Jamaican LDA offers a counter-point example which highlights the importance of continuing a dynamic community development process. Its formation was a direct consequence of on-going work with the sugar workers cooperatives coupled with approaches from a range of other community/project initiatives in other parts of Jamaica. In order to respond to these initiatives and extend their experience with sugar workers, a local development

agency was proposed to identify, finance (through contributions from international NGO's), and sometimes carry out itself, small scale development projects in agriculture, agro-industry, light manufacturing, craft development and appropriate technology, with a view to creating employment in poorer communities.

But outside of its roots in the sugar co-operatives, the Jamaican LDA was not a joint initiative arising from a range of community animation work.

Once government policies forced the closure of the sugar co-operatives, a move which occurred soon after the formation of the LDA, the latter was cut off from a socially dynamic process that was emerging from these communities. Leaders from community projects have been encouraged to meet from time to time and comment on the work of the LDA in relation to their own needs. But the management structure of the LDA has remained strongly controlled by its founders and has had a close working relationship to CUSO in Jamaica. The consequences of this structure become quite apparent in the problems associated with local project leadership (discussed below). Here we shall discuss its implications for the relationship of the Jamaican LDA to a community animation model that sustains community empowerment through project support work.

Since the demise of work with the sugar co-operatives, the Jamaican LDA has evolved more clearly as a local agency emphasizing a service-oriented role with respect to community projects in providing for the development of local skills and

effective organizational dynamics. The fact that it is indigenous to the society in which these projects are located and understands their needs and problems, makes it attractive to a range of international NGO's. Through the LDA, the latter are able to mediate their relationship to community projects. The skills that the LDA offers are clearly important; nevertheless, the implications of the observation that "there were in effect no roots in the communities for the Jamaican LDA" (Interview, October 15, 1982) can be seen in the evaluations of several community projects.

In one case, a local agricultural project (Project A) was developed with close involvement from the LDA and CUSO and it became the only cohesive social grouping in the community when the Community Council failed to function. Yet its animation role in the community was primarily a "model" for a local employment-creating community development project. There seemed to be no attempt to build upon an expanding and organic relationship to other community members and involve them in other community projects. It has not become a part of a wider community initiative for greater local self-reliance and related employment creation. In fact, we shall see below that it has remained highly dependent itself on financial, technical and leadership assistance from the LDA and CUSO. In another case (Project B), an agricultural co-operative was formed on a tract of land purchased by the LDA and the co-op participants moved into the community to begin work on the farm. The project members were met with a great deal of local suspicion

particularly as a consequence of partisan political activity by some group members in the community. The original co-op collapsed and was initiated again in 1981 by the LDA with a new set of participants who again were not (with the exception of two) from the adjacent community. Community relations improved through local service work by project members. Nevertheless, an evaluation report was highly critical of the LDA for its failure to undertake the project though a community-based mobilization process which would have related the project more to the needs and involvement of rural people in the community. While this was only one factor, Project B has failed to achieve economic and social viability.

These project examples point to the potential for a local development agency to reproduce dependency when a process for community animation and community improvement is weak and externally controlled. The consequence often has been the social isolation of the project from the recipient community (where community members outside the project feel threatened or jealous of benefits accruing to the project recipients). A donor-recipient dependency is also reflected within the project-LDA relationship where a service orientation creates a sense that the project members are not equal participants in the development of the project itself. To examine this aspect, we must turn to the role of LDA's in sustaining viable community leadership and creating local skills.

(ii) LDA's and Leadership/Skills Development

The Jamaican LDA has most clearly evolved towards an agency model which stresses technical intervention for co-operative enterprises. The agency has a Projects Co-ordinator and a staff of experts in accounting, economics, agriculture, appropriate small scale manufacturing technology, co-operative promotion and community organizing, and co-operative education programming. During the past several years it has made an important contribution, not only to Jamaican projects but also to others throughout the eastern Caribbean, with its Organizational Development Programs which were initiated for the sugar workers co-operatives through a Small Enterprise Management Training Program. It includes leadership training courses, on-site training in role identification and co-operative decision-making for project participants, the production of audio-visual aids and documentation, and the promotion of regional exchanges to strengthen local initiatives. Evaluations of the Jamaican LDA have all emphasized the importance of these training workshops and technical supports for projects in assuring that the latter become economically and socially viable. Nevertheless, skills training cannot be separated from a vital transformative community development process if the LDA is to remain responsive to the needs of community-based projects in the context of an alternative development model. Several examples may elaborate the dimensions of this proposition.

Leadership and skills training have been critical aspects of the two Jamaican projects referred to above (p. 19). In the case of Project A, the Jamaican LDA made important interventions

with the participants to provide technical assistance in farming, co-op management training and the organization of work, and in the areas of book-keeping, budget planning and marketing. With 15 members, the project has a management committee and project leader which meets every week for day-to-day decision-making. Every two weeks there is a membership meeting out of which separate committees have been established to co-ordinate various aspects of the agricultural and marketing operation. There has been a conscious effort to make the decision-making process a participatory one while maintaining the necessary discipline for a sustained agricultural venture.

A recent external evaluation of Project A commended it for its success in the development of the needed infrastructure for the farming venture and the growth of basic agricultural and entrepreneurial skills. But the evaluation also notes the close relationship which CUSO and LDA personnel have had with the development of the project. It suggests that there is need for the growth of internal co-op leadership to move beyond a situation where "the project participants regard the project . . . more as that of CUSO, the presence of whom is still too strong in the venture". There is a similar, but more extreme situation, with respect to Project B. With the collapse of the first co-op, which occurred despite extensive training programs with the participants, the Jamaican LDA appointed a project manager to monitor the development of the project with the second group of participants. He meets with the project members each week, but in fact commutes from the capital city to do so.

living and working within a community stimulated other community project co-ordinators. It was critically important that the direction of programs emerged out of whatever process was happening in the community and was not the consequence of the priorities of "outside" organizers. Great care was taken to encourage the self-confidence and ability of indigenous community leadership. One observer of this process noted that the deliberate strategy to "groom" project participants to relate directly to external agencies paid off enormously, both for the individual's personal development and their abilities as an organizer.

"(The community promotor) was making sure community people got an opportunity to develop themselves either through local actions and discussions both politically and technically at all levels. His style of work meant that if the process was not going to happen quickly, he did not push it. You work slowly but at the same time you were explicit about the directions you wanted the work to go. That way takes a lot longer but in the end is the only way to do it". (Interview, November 12, 1982)

Out of this emphasis on community animation through education, there is an increasing recognition by the St. Vincent LDA that the development of project skills are needed by project-holders. Drawing on the experience of the Jamaican LDA, they are now working towards educational follow-up with project-holders, particularly those involved in production projects, through organizational workshops on effective management skills -- record keeping, budgeting, the nature of small projects, marketing, human relations, and co-op decision-making. While maintaining its accountability to its

community base, the process of empowerment includes the transmission of skills and responsibilities to that level as well. As one example, a St. Vincent community promotor suggests the nature of this process:

"Reports on projects would be my responsibility. What I might have to do is rewrite these project reports done by project holders, but we assume that people at the base do some sort of reporting in order to report, it's not just free, that they have to plan."
(Interview, November 8, 1982)

Thus, the nature of the process through which skills are transmitted to a community level project becomes a critical variable for the success of the project, not only its economic viability but also its ability to empower community people through indigenous leadership. Where the LDA becomes primarily a skills service-oriented organization and has direct structures of accountability to external funding agencies, it will tend to assume a more external role in the initiation and direction of community-based projects from a central administrative structure where these skills are located.

(iii) Local Development Agencies and Structural Dependency

Several issues emerge out of the set of relationships which LDA's may develop with international funding agencies. They too affect the relative success or failure in promoting community-based planning and the setting of p[riorities. When questioned about the ability of LDA's to set their own priorities in the context of their need for external funding from international NGO's, one observer noted that "it is much more tied to how the LDA emerged than to the need to have money

or the imperatives of the funding agencies". She pointed to the St. Vincent LDA:

" . . . the St. Vincent LDA and its components did not get together because of money. There was work on-going and projects already at its formation. The strength of the St. Vincent LDA is that the base effectively establishes the priorities and the Agency is able to say to funding agencies, these are the priorities, can you support them?" (Interview, October 15, 1982)

By way of contrast, mention has been made of the close involvement of CUSO in the formation of the Jamaican LDA and some of the implications that this role has had for the autonomy of projects at the community level. From other examples given in the course of interviews, there seems to be a closer convergence of the program priorities of an LDA with the interests and concerns of a funding agency where the funding agency has played an initiating role through matching funds available for the formation of an LDA. These LDA's have sometimes assumed a directing role for projects that were previously funded by international agencies. They have done so in the absence of any organic relationship to the communities where the project is occurring. As these LDA's develop project administrative skills, they are likely to be approached by increasing numbers of funding agencies. Not only does such a relationship of accountability to external sources compromise the project-LDA process of support and development, more importantly, it reinforces a distance from the community animation work which as we have seen is the foundation for effective community projects.

As LDA's have increased their involvement with more traditional aid agencies (including national and multilateral aid sources), they have been compelled to respond to the reporting/evaluation requirements of these more traditional aid relationships and they have been confronted by many of the problems (discussed in the Introduction above) which define these relationships. A recent evaluation by one international agency of an LDA program produced a reaction from other LDA's that "this kind of intrusion (i.e. unlimited access to project files, interviews with staff and project participants, externally dictated evaluation criteria) was intolerable, and that the LDA network needed to develop a common policy/strategy on dealing with funding agencies, and on taking funds tied to this kind of evaluation". (Interview, October 15, 1982) There was general agreement that the process of evaluation and accountability must follow from the commitment to community self-direction and control. With the support of CUSO, evaluation of LDA's and projects takes place over a three year commitment of funding. They are internal to each LDA and are structured to encourage local/community self-evaluation around issues of community empowerment and accountability of the LDA to community projects. A summative evaluation of the three year program for CUSO will be conducted by a two person team, one from an LDA and another mutually agreed upon by both LDA's and CUSO.

There is evidence that the relationship of some LDA's to CUSO has been problematic in some aspects of the role that CUSO

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staff have played in on-going determination of directions for these LDA's. But more importantly, "localization" of decision-making has meant that these problems have been mediated by regular inter-island meetings of the LDA themselves and by the active participation of the LDA's in setting the objectives and monitoring the progress of the CUSO Caribbean Program. With the support of CUSO, the inter-island meetings have encouraged a real exchange of experience among the LDA's. For too long Caribbean islands have been isolated from each other in economic and social relationships, but even more so in the sharing of alternative approaches to development among the poor. As in the case between St. Vincent and Jamaica, there is often a reflection and learning from the differing emphases of the two LDA's:

"I think one of the important things we have been able to do in these meetings is to get a feel for what other people are doing and how they address problems in the field. The problems are not going to be unique. While the thrust of our (APD) may be in education, based on our experience in communities and our education work, we now find a group demand for projects, demands that we are trying to some extent to hold off so that we can do education work. But because other agencies are more project oriented, they can give us a history of what their experiences are in that area, what we should and should not look for in projects. Also, other agencies are beginning to see that some of their projects are failing because not enough education work has been put into the project and we can provide a practical base for that type of work." (Interview, November 8, 1982)

The inter-island meetings have also been able to structure a more collective and participatory relationship with CUSO as a funding agency. Such a relationship can mediate the potential

for a divergence of aims and objectives of LDA's to support community projects and the institutional requirements of the funding agency. There is a greater awareness on the part of CUSO of the social, economic and political constraints which affect the success of projects in the Caribbean and a collective monitoring of the changing potential for alternative development work among the islands. To further this collective planning process, CUSO has allocated program funding for LDA's over a three year period (with needed revisions each year on detailed allocations). This allows for more effective planning on the part of each of the LDA's and for greater flexibility in meeting long-term capital costs and effective training/organizational development programs with project participants.

In these respects the relationship between the LDAs and CUSO is consistent with the transformative objectives of alternative community development. Nevertheless, in spite of their mutual commitment to these objectives, their success and failures cannot be separated from national and global social, economic and political relationships which sustain underdevelopment and dependency.

The success or failure of projects for community economic advancement has often been determined by external factors beyond the control of the LDA's or the project participants. In the case of the sugar workers co-operatives, government and industry throughout the period of the co-op's existence attempted to destabilize them and return control to the National Sugar Industry and later the private sector. The overall

relationship of an alternative development model in the Caribbean to the practical socio-economic constraints facing small-scale farmers is an ambiguous one for the projects of self-reliance supported by the LDA's. The LDA's have stressed production for the local market. Yet in many instances the ability of projects to market produce for local consumption has been adversely affected by national economic policies which encourage imports of cheap food and by transportation problems to get produce to local markets. The Jamaican agricultural Project A was successful in establishing a viable farming infrastructure and was producing rabbits, chickens, corn, cabbage and tomatoes for the local market in Kingston. But a marked decline in prices for farm produce compelled the co-op to increase its dependency on further external support for working capital as well as machinery start-up costs. Similarly, the cost of purchase and up-keep of a vehicle to implement a marketing strategy for a small-scale project is most often uneconomic.

The LDA's have had some success in meeting these structural difficulties through their relationship with a number of production co-ops and enterprises. One strategy has been to encourage a mutually supportive marketing of produce among several projects. In Jamaica, agricultural projects provide produce to a co-operative hotel venture which received support from the Jamaican LDA. In St. Vincent, small-scale farmers have a long tradition of production for the export market and many macro-economic factors limit their ability to break out of this

dependence. The farmers organization through its education process with farmers is encouraging an analysis of this dependency. Yet, at the same time, community promoters leave farmers' groups "with the option to decide what they should do and how they should do it" (Interview, November 8, 1982). The economic realities dictate that at best their only option may be a certain degree of crop diversification along with the local processing of food crops. One project is establishing a community mill to grind corn, something that was common in each village 20 years ago, and out of this experience it is hoped that the group and others in the community will see the benefits of processing other crops. In addition, some specialization among communities in a particular region -- a group addressing the marketing question, another the processing of vegetables and corn, another the processing of fruit -- is encouraged. Out of this organization it is hoped that people will begin to move into one another's community a lot more than they are presently doing. Not only will this break down social and political isolation which is the consequence of their exclusive external economic linkages to export markets; it will also encourage inter-community discussions and relations that will strengthen the power of poor farmers within these communities in relation to outside economic and social forces. It will address the perennial problem of these forces, particularly government, playing one village off against another for scarce benefits. (Interview, November 8, 1982)

Both experience and economic necessity limit the ability of small-scale farmers in production co-ops (or individually) to move away from export crop production towards more self-reliant and stable production for local markets and their own self-sufficiency. At the same time, the LDA's have only just begun to appreciate the implications of this problem:

"LDA's will have to start looking at alternatives as a general need in the region. They are now looking at developing some marketing expertise, whether for local or external inter-island trade. But we don't have the political development to deal with the problem of dependency and LDA's are not organized to develop these skills. We have to grapple with what it means in terms of how co-ops are organized to take account of dependency." (Interview, October 15, 1982)

These are the larger national political issues -- development for whom, popular control over economic and social priorities -- which most often lie beyond the scope of the LDA's. Yet, if the LDA's are contributing to an alternative development process that is empowering people within their communities, they are also assisting these communities to express their interests on these larger social issues through their self-organization. This process is essential if the dependency model of "development" (which in actuality sustains underdevelopment) is to be broken in the Caribbean and if those most affected by underdevelopment are to advance their economic and social well-being.

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BIG TROUT LAKE

Big Trout Lake is an isolated reserve community located at 53°50' in N.W. Ontario. It is not accessible by road or rail, but is serviced by scheduled aircraft from Sioux Lookout (276 airmiles away). The compact settlement is situated on Post Island and adjacent mainland on the north shore of Big Trout Lake, a large lake lying just within the pre-Cambrian shield. Island and mainland were joined as of March 1978 by a causeway which gives mainland residents safe and reliable access to educational and health facilities, as well as other services and places of employment, such as the Band Office, airlines and stores, which are concentrated on the Island. The current population of the reserve, including some non-band natives and approximately 50 non-natives, is roughly 700.

Spreading out from the settlement are vast reaches of lakes, rivers, boreal forest and muskeg, the traditional hunting, trapping and fishing grounds of the Oji-Cree. Access to these lands and waters provided the basis of a viable economy for centuries before contact, and continues to be an indispensable condition for the material well-being and cultural vitality of the native people inhabiting the area.

In fact, prior to 1924, according to the then-resident missionary, the Oji-Cree lived "entirely by hunting and fishing, and by freighting supplies into the trading post at Big Trout Lake from Fort Severn during the summer months". (Greenwood, 1964, p. 4) But, by 1929 "economic conditions had deteriorated to the point where the Band sought admission to treaty in order

to be assured of financial support in times of wants.["] (Ibid.) One of the main factors in this decline was the imposition of Ontario game laws, which seriously inhibited the native peoples' ability to subsist by hunting and trapping. By the late 30's, scattered bands were still using the settlement site only as a summering ground, where they gathered to trade, fish, receive Treaty payments, and to socialize. It was not until the late 1950's that a permanent village with a substantial number of year-round residents coalesced; by this time access to various services and facilities, such as the school, nursing station and stores, had taken on greater importance to many people who had traditionally spent most of the year in isolation out on the trapline. It is important to remember that it is only in the last generation and a half that people have resided year-round in the compact settlement.

The effects of contact had begun to accelerate rapidly after the Band came under the provisions of Treaty No. 9; education and health services and relief payments significantly altered their way of life. (In 1955 they also became eligible for Ontario welfare benefits.) Thus, within the space of barely two generations, an economy which was relatively self-sufficient (though obviously linked to the outside through trading) was transformed into one heavily dependent on transfer payments and government services. While Band members welcomed the relief from adversity afforded by these payments and services, they were increasingly aware of the "conflict between the demands of their traditional way of life and those of Euro-Canadian institutions."["] (Greenwood, p.5) By 1977 a BTL Band Member would write:

"Over the years the economic life of the community has changed dramatically. There has been a significant decline in fishing, trapping and gardening just in the last decade, to the point that the community has a new dependence, now based on government support". (See Interim Report, 1977, p. 4) Use of their traditional territories for subsistence activities continues nonetheless to be a vital condition of the community's survival and identity, and any curtailment of their access to these territories would have far-reaching consequences, both economic and cultural. Yet the pattern of life in Big Trout Lake has been radically transformed. It is the permanent home for a large number of people who are neither able to survive as their ancestors did, nor able to obtain gainful employment in the context of a service-oriented, dependent economy.

Plainly, the biggest problem currently facing the Band is the extremely elevated level of local unemployment, coupled with a correspondingly high level of welfare dependency. There is tremendous pressure for new job creation, particularly for young people, who make up a disproportionately high percentage of the population. The social ills which stem from enforced idleness and lack of opportunity need not be enumerated here: their toll in suffering is reflected starkly in statistics compiled by the DIA for native communities throughout Canada.

A recent survey reveals the following population and employment picture:

TOTAL POPULATION	707	
AGE DISTRIBUTION	276	under 15
	150	16-25
	90	25-35
	102	36-50
	89	over 51
EMPLOYMENT (15 and over)	220	unemployment
	35	employed seasonally
	40	" part-time
	76	" full-time

(BTL Training Proposal, 1983, p. A-1)

Thus, of working-age population of 371, 220, or just under 60% are without any paid employment whatsoever. Only 76, or 20%, have full-time work. Sixty-five per cent of the community is receiving welfare benefits. It is in this context that we must address the question of what conditions and supporting structures would allow for the successful, or at least partial resolution of these acute problems.

The Community Employment Strategy Experience in Big Trout Lake

The Community Employment Strategy was one attempt to co-ordinate development activities in the face of this worsening crisis of unemployment, underemployment and welfare dependency. The following description of the CES and its impact is taken for the most part directly from the Final Evaluation Report and Summary prepared by Joan Williams and Catherine Scott. While this material has been readily available for some time we feel it worthwhile to present it here as an illustration of what can be accomplished given a greater degree of co-ordination and

access to resources.

"CES was a joint Federal-Provincial planning and co-ordinating mechanism which, in partnership with designated communities, attempted to address the local employment problems of people who experience continued difficulty in finding and keeping productive full-time employment."

CEIC and the Ontario Ministry of Labour took the lead in initiating the Strategy which was implemented between April 1976 and March 1979 in four areas in Ontario including Big Trout Lake.

The first key operating principle was that responsibility for identifying barriers to employment and proposing solutions should lie with local communities. They were therefore expected to undertake a problem identification, strategy development and implementation process in the context of local conditions and resources.

The second key principle was that many of the resources to solve employment problems could be obtained through better or more effective utilization and co-ordination of existing programs of the various Federal and Provincial agencies, rather than through the creation of new programs. Government responsibility therefore was to facilitate the implementation of community-based proposals through co-ordinated delivery of existing resources. (CES in Ontario Summary, 1979, pp. 1-2)

Initial consultations with the newly-elected council and chief revealed that community planning was already a priority. They had identified a number of potential projects "but were experiencing difficulty in gaining support from various government agencies. CES appeared to be a possible means of achieving these objectives both as a vehicle for co-ordination and for provision of resources". (Final Evaluation Report, 1979, p. 96)

The decision was taken that the chief and Band Council would comprise the local CES organization, and a community worker was hired.

The Strategy for the BTL area was developed to meet two primary needs: the need for community planning, especially with regard to physical infrastructure, and the pressing need to find short-term solutions to the unemployment crisis, and thereby hopefully to lay the basis for long-term social and economic planning.

In the first stage, a Human Resources Survey, an Employers Survey, and a Land Use Study were carried out, and included in the First Interim Report. Recommendations were made in three major areas: 1) the need to better co-ordinate training with employment opportunities, particularly in the area of business management skills; to involve more women in training; to carry out training courses in Cree; and to orient training to allow native people to fill existing jobs being held by non-natives; 2) the need for more employment and education-related information; and 3) specific development proposals for exploration.

Out of these recommendations emerged fourteen projects, organized under four headings, of which thirteen were approved for implementation. By September 1978 a second round of project initiatives was approved.

Plainly, a great deal of activity bringing tangible benefits to the community resulted from this concentrated effort to increase co-ordination and eliminate blockages to implementation. The causeway was constructed, bringing the

improvements mentioned earlier; a winter access road to Long Dog Lake was built which allowed the Band to haul logs that had previously been transported by air; the various studies and surveys mentioned earlier were undertaken, adding to the community's understanding of its own conditions and potential; training courses were run in Heavy Equipment Operation and Mineral Exploration; an Outreach worker was hired to co-ordinate employment-related services and provide more information; a planning co-ordinator was hired to be responsible for planning and project development; feasibility studies were conducted on a Furniture Making Shop, and the purchase of a commercial aircraft; a timber survey was made to assess local supplies; attention was paid to trapline development to ensure that trapping could be carried on rationally to support a limited number of people; efforts were made, but largely unsuccessfully, to train Band members to occupy eleven existing jobs on the reserve held at that time by non-natives; investigation was made of the potential for alternative means of generating electricity, to cut costs and dependency; an organizational study was made of the existing Band government structure to help increase its planning and implementation capacity; and further training programs were completed in log construction and secretarial work.

While the impacts of the CES up to this point were positive in terms of short-term job creation, skills development, and infrastructural improvement, long-term benefits were contingent upon ongoing co-ordination of training and job creation and

agency involvement, increasing access to existing permanent employment opportunities, and establishment of new viable Indian-owned and operated businesses. The CES evaluators accordingly recommended that the joint planning and development process be continued on a long-term basis, and that permanent co-ordinating mechanisms and staff positions be established to ensure that adequate resources continued to be made available.

Unfortunately, the CES was terminated in March 1980 due to "budgetary constraints". Thus, the Band was left to face once again an obstructive and disjointed array of programs, policies and guidelines. The termination of CES revealed the weakness and vulnerability of externally-initiated structures subject to shifts in policy and budgetary allocations. The establishment of a permanent co-ordinating mechanism under local control and with stable and adequate funding is necessary if the kind of momentum achieved during the CES is to be regained, and sustained to the point where long-term solutions are found.

To illustrate the kinds of difficulties which have confronted one of the ventures started up during the CES period, we will now present in some detail the experience of the Big Trout Lake Furniture Shop. Establishing this local community-owned enterprise was intended to create much-needed jobs and to lessen dependence on outside sources of goods. As we shall see, this venture has been successful despite some poor initial planning and a critical lack of support from various institutions.

Big Trout Lake Furniture Shop

In an area of chronically low employment opportunity, development based on the utilization of local resources is a high priority. Using locally available labour and materials to supply local and regional markets cuts dependency and can overcome the acute disadvantages of isolation and prohibitive freight rates. Circulation of money within the community is increased, and leakage is slowed down. Local industries create long-term jobs, provide an appropriate setting for skills training and practical management and marketing experience, and build people's confidence in their ability to work productively to meet their own communities' needs.

The Big Trout Lake Furniture Shop presents a graphic example of the potential benefits of community-based enterprise, despite the obstacles to success posed by inadequate planning and support.

As early as 1974 interest in developing a furniture shop was expressed by the BTL Band. The need for good furniture and the desire of local people to acquire skill in carpentry led to the Company of Young Canadians hiring a local individual to study the idea. Subsequently, in 1975, the Opportunities for Youth Program funded the construction of a shop building, which was not completed until the winter of 1975-76 due to shortages of materials.

At this point, it was recognized that further analysis and planning were required before proceeding with the project. As

the local CES worker observed at the time (Feb. 77):

There have not been entirely successful results relying on the Dept. of Indian Affairs' assistance, in the area of economic development . . . Economic ventures have not been considered sufficiently in the past from a total perspective. Feasibility studies have not been in evidence when the DIA have made recent budgetary decisions. Hence, a lack of proper training of staff, insufficient availability of materials, inaccurate costing, and a lack of understanding by all parties, has become evident. (CES First Interim Report, 1977, p. 31)

In order to ensure that the furniture shop would avoid these pitfalls and start up on a sure footing, the Band requested and receiving funding from the Local Employment Assistance Program to carry out a feasibility study. That a feasibility study in itself is no guarantee of problem-free development, however, was borne out by the ensuing experience.

The study was undertaken in the context of the CES, under the heading of Economic and Employment Development. Eight thousand dollars were received from LEAP in August 1977, and the study by Hildebrand and Young was completed in March 1978. It was recommended that the shop could break even in three years while employing two individuals full-time. (Other assumptions and recommendations of the feasibility study will be referred to below.) Accordingly, the Band sought funding for a further three-month's development, during which the shop would be prepared for operation, and for a nine-month operational phase.

A list of "anticipated short and long term results" drawn up at this time is indicative of the high expectations

surrounding the project:

1. Establish a business which will be independent of government funding.
2. Provide an alternative market for lumber produced by the year-round logging and sawmill operation.
3. Provide an alternative supply of quality furniture for Band members.
4. Savings and earnings resulting from the operation of the business accrue to the Band and its members, in other words, the money stays in the community.
5. Band members employed by the business will acquire new skills which will qualify them for other employment in the community or in other parts of the province.
6. Participation in this Band owned and operated business will give Band members confidence that they can successfully undertake other beneficial community and economic development projects.

(Interim Evaluation, 1978, p. 60)

During the operational phase, a manager/trainer was to be hired to order equipment, oversee renovations to the existing shop building, and to design the training program and the furniture to be produced. Two trainees were also to be hired to renovate and assist in setting up the shop. It was expected that during the operational phase the manager/trainer would impart the necessary skills to the trainees (whose aptitude would have been assessed during the developmental phase) to allow them to successfully operate the enterprise after the trainer's departure.

In practice, however, it proved difficult to find a suitable manager/trainer who had both the requisite skills and familiarity with the socio-economic and cultural context of the reserve. A white from outside was hired. His expectations and those of the trainees differed. Although technically competent,

and familiar with the community, he didn't have the image or approach of a teacher or experience as a trainer, and therefore lacked legitimacy in the eyes of the trainees. The language barrier was also a hindrance. Thus, although funding was made available and a trainer hired, the initial training was nowhere as effective as it could have been had a suitable trainer been identified earlier on.

Another major obstacle in the first year, one which had not been properly accounted for in the feasibility study, was the lack of hydro in the shop. Electrical power was not obtained until the second year. Thus, at the start, some aspects of production were carried out in the Band Office where power was available, and some were performed with hand tools. These arrangements were obviously inefficient.

Also during the first year, DIA took the initiative in arranging for an Industrial Designer from Carleton University to come to BTL to advise the shop in furniture design. This person's input, however well-intentioned, was, to say the least, inappropriate. He suggested more sophisticated models that required complicated joints and non-dimensional lumber. Given the scarcity and high cost of wood (to be discussed below), the wastage with non-dimensional pieces was unacceptable. And given the relative inexperience of the workers, the complexity of the new designs was not in keeping with their capabilities.

Nevertheless, electricity was installed in the second year, an important step forward. Most of the power tools were to be acquired through the LEAP funds. One piece of equipment,

though, a planer, was to be paid for with DIA Economic Development money. The Band duly placed its order; a year and a half later the DIA funds still hadn't arrived. This particular foul-up exemplifies the sort of hindrance that bureaucratic inefficiency and failure to come through with timely support can cause. Inability to pay for the planer became a major problem for the shop: their credit rating was in jeopardy. For any small business just starting up, this can be fatal. When asked for an explanation as to why the funds had not been released, the District Office of DIA in Sioux Lookout stated variously that the papers had not been filled out correctly, or that the money had been requisitioned but hadn't come through for some unknown reason. DIA District Office should have known that this situation was extremely detrimental to the shop's viability, and should have made every effort to disentangle the knot more speedily. Eventually, after much frustration and anxiety, the funds came through.

By the second year, 1979-80, despite these initial difficulties, the shop was well into operation and filling local orders. Further LEAP funds had been obtained, and the staff of the shop was increased to four, now with a local manager. Increasing the staff was intended to get more people trained to allow for possible future expansion of production, and as a back-up in case the original trainees departed.

The problem of wood supply is one that continues to affect the shop's success. It was one of the false assumptions of the consultants who carried out the feasibility study that local

spruce and jack-pine would be available for furniture-making. Spruce, however, tends to split when nailed or screwed, and both spruce and jack-pine must be properly seasoned and dried before they are usable. No provision was made in the early stages for setting up a drying facility that would have allowed for locally-milled lumber to be used. A later effort to construct a solar wood-drying kiln at Long Dog Lake where there is a jack-pine stand has encountered numerous difficulties and is not yet operational. Given that one of the original goals of the project was to "provide an alternative market for lumber produced by the year-round logging and sawmill operations" (which themselves could generate significant employment), one of the first priorities should have been to establish a proper facility and process for the local production of good-quality dried lumber. Because this step was not taken first, the shop has had to depend on pine and plywood flown in from Thunder Bay and Winnipeg. What this means in terms of increased cost of materials, continued dependence on outside sources, and lack of competitive edge, is obvious. Furthermore, not only is the local milling and drying of wood for furniture not providing much-needed jobs, but the BTL Band has ceased milling even rough lumber for housing construction. When so few opportunities exist for the exploitation of local resources, this seems extremely unfortunate.

Other expectations of the authors of the feasibility study have also proved to be mistaken. One of their key assumptions was that a strong local market existed for functional, simple

furniture and cabinets for domestic use. Thus, the priority for the shop was to produce utilitarian items for the local domestic market. What was not taken into account was, first, that Band members' values were rapidly being affected by images from outside, through television, advertising and the availability of more "fashionable" upholstered items from the Bay store. Although these items were recognized to be more expensive and poorly made, they had a certain status that continued to make them desirable. This competition from "imported" items has set a limit to the expansion of the market for locally-produced furniture.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, the feasibility study failed to identify the long-term potential of institutional and off-reserve markets for the shop's output. It was not until the third year of operation that the shop realized that the local domestic market would not be enough to ensure its survival. Up until then the Band Council (the shop's sponsor) had stuck by the consultant's report. Now they turned to examine the possibility of selling furniture and cabinets to other bands, to government departments, and to companies like Ontario Hydro and Bell Canada.

The BTL Furniture Shop had difficulty in getting other bands to buy its products, although some sales have been made and there is potential for more. One problem is that other Bands in the region understandably feel that they too should have their own furniture shops, in order to realize their own local benefits, and are therefore reluctant to support the BTL

shop. In addition, the allocation for new housing is so low (approximately \$23,000 per house) that the Bands are forced to buy cheap pre-packaged houses from outside and to use part of the allocation for labour, rather than capital costs. They are therefore not in a position to buy cabinets from the BTL shop. Nonetheless, the potential for further sales to other Bands exists, and is being actively explored.

The Department of Health and Welfare has been a major customer. H & W made available to the shop its five-year capital expenditures forecasts for new nursing stations. Access to this information has allowed the shop to plan its production and furnish the stations as they are built and renovated.

The Department of Indian Affairs, by contrast, has been the least receptive. Despite DIA's ostensible commitment to fostering self-reliant, community-based economic development, the Department has failed to purchase furniture and cabinets for new schools and teacherages being built on reserves. The shop has never even been allowed to tender for DIA contracts, even though it is on the Department of Supply and Services' list. Band Council Resolutions have been sent in this regard and have been ignored. It is very ironic that the shop was not asked to bid on supplying the new school recently constructed in Big Trout Lake itself. Support from DIA, simply as a customer, would make a substantial difference to the shop's potential.

Another example of lack of receptivity and support from DIA is its failure to respond to the shop's offer to make its facilities available to the school for Industrial Arts programs.

Such programs would provide further training to young people, maximize the use of the shop, and integrate it more fully into the life of the community. The DIA education superintendents haven't done anything about this, despite representations from the BTL School Committee.

It should be mentioned that one DIA Economic Development Officer has ordered furniture for coffee shops on some reserves, and this is certainly positive. But it falls far short of the kind of support that larger orders for schools and teacherages would represent. And at the same time Economic Development Officer failed to approach the shop for furnishing of the tourist cabins in the area. These cabins attract mainly fishermen from the mid-west United States. In this setting the kind of solid, rustic furniture produced by the shop would be eminently suitable. Nevertheless, the decision was taken by DIA to bring in more "fashionable", upholstered furniture from Winnipeg. The Band have no say in the matter.

A further benefit that would accrue if DIA were to be a more active customer for the shop's products is that the shop would gain credibility in the eyes of other potential purchasers. For example, Band Council Resolutions have been sent to Hydro and Bell, but they have failed to place any orders. If DIA were seen to be taking the lead in recognizing the shop as a reliable, competitive supplier, the likelihood of obtaining orders from these other important sources would surely be increased.

Given that Furniture Shop staff still have language barriers and lack of experience and confidence in marketing, orders from

supportive institutional buyers are crucial. It should be stressed that the shop is not seeking any financial commitment from DIA, only the equal opportunity to tender for contracts. If these contracts were forthcoming, the shop could concentrate on the task at hand, the making of furniture, and staff could be increased, creating vital local employment and reducing the need for social assistance.

DIA's lack of support at this time would seem to reflect a general attitude on its part towards economic development initiatives in which it has no financial commitment or direct control. The Department appears to feel that it does not need to support an enterprise set up by the community on its own behalf, and has effectively ignored it.

Despite this lack of response and support from DIA, and the problems detailed above stemming from false assumptions made early on, the Furniture Shop is currently operating on a year-round basis with a full-time staff of two. (Part-time staff are also hired in busy periods.) After having received funding for four years, it now operates without any government financial assistance whatsoever, as a self-supporting community-owned enterprise. The potential for expansion of production and employment exists, but is largely contingent upon greater access to institutional markets. The DIA, and other governmental and private buyers, as we have emphasized above, have an important role to play in opening up this potential.

To summarize, some lessons that can be drawn from the BTL

Furniture Shop experience to date are as follows:

1. Clear access to, and adequate facilities for the provision of local resources must be established before a community enterprise can truly increase self-reliance, cut dependency and significantly decrease leakage of money from the community.
2. Feasibility studies and long-range market surveys should be carried out pragmatically, taking into account cultural as well as economic variables; they should not be designed or used to validate optimistic expectations.
3. Funding for training programs does not guarantee effective training; suitable trainers should be identified as early as possible, and chosen according to both technical and socio-cultural criteria; ideally, the trainers themselves should be native people.
4. Funding, once committed, should be expedited by the responsible agency, especially during the early stages of operation when the enterprise's credit rating is at stake.
5. Necessary infrastructure (e.g. electric power) should be in place before an enterprise enters the operational stage.
6. Local markets should be met to the fullest extent possible, but attention should be paid early on to the need to develop institutional and outside markets; these provide long-term stability and credibility and increase the flow of money into the community from outside; local production for local consumption increases the circulation

of money within the community, and thereby slows down leakage, but does not increase the total amount of money circulating in the community.

7. If the Department of Indian Affairs is seriously committed to supporting self-reliant, community-based development on reserves, policy must be co-ordinated from the National down to the District level, so that District officials will have clear direction to play a supportive role, even in projects in which they have little or no direct financial involvement or control. In the case of the BTL Furniture Shop, a self-supporting community initiative could realize its potential more fully if the Department took the lead in opening up the institutional market for the shop's production.

8. The potential for community-based economic development through community-owned enterprises on remote reserves does exist, as is evidenced by the ongoing, self-sustaining operation of the Big Trout Lake Furniture Shop: two full-time jobs have been created; and the benefits to the community are more than just economic, as it represents a native-run and native-controlled operation that people can feel proud of, and it can set an example for future community development.

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KINGFISHER LAKE

The community of Kingfisher Lake is located in Northwestern Ontario at latitude 53N00, ninety kilometres south of Big Trout Lake. Situated on reserve land, the community has had official Band status since 1976. Approximately 260 people (all native except for a few school teachers) live in the compact settlement lying on the shore of Kingfisher Lake. The Band moved to this location in 1965 from Big Beaver House because Kingfisher Lake was deeper and cleaner, and timber more readily available in the surrounding area.

No roads or scheduled aircraft service the community. Small planes can be chartered from Big Trout Lake or Pickle Lake to land on Kingfisher Lake. An airstrip is still in the planning stages. A few years ago a helicopter service was introduced to maintain postal deliveries during the break-up and freeze-up periods.

The resource base in the area is relatively meagre. Like Big Trout Lake, Kingfisher Lake is surrounded by lakes, rivers, boreal forest and muskeg. Stocks of game and fish have been declining, and while Band members continue to hunt, trap and fish, subject to game law restrictions, complete subsistence through traditional pursuits is no longer possible. Timber stands in the vicinity are not commercially viable at the present time due to inaccessibility and remoteness from mills and markets, as well as low density that makes large-scale harvesting "uneconomic". Nevertheless, the Band operates a

small sawmill to produce rough lumber for local construction at a considerable saving over lumber trucked from Winnipeg or Thunder Bay to Pickle Lake and flown in.

Exploitation of mineral resources in the region is a long-term possibility, but negative impacts on the environment and the social and cultural life of the community will probably outweigh the benefits of paid employment and increased income. Given the emphasis placed on the establishment of extractive industries in the province's West Patricia Land Use Plan, the likelihood of development in this sector under the control of outside private interests is high, and the Band should be anticipating its effects.

The potential for agriculture on the reserve is limited to community gardening for local consumption, and the short growing season restricts the range of vegetable crops. Aside from the few things that can be grown, like potatoes and greens, and fish, game and other country food, the Band is dependent on outside supplies. The same is true for energy. Locally-gathered firewood is used to heat most of the homes. But electrical power is generated by diesel for the school, the Band office, and a few other community facilities, and by small portable gas generators for the domestic needs of most residents. The possibility of small-scale hydro development that would cut costs and dependence is being explored, but is still at the early planning stage.

Thus, the context of the Band's development is one of dependence on transfer payments from the federal and provincial governments, reliance on outside sources for most goods and

materials, and limited opportunities for paid employment. In the face of these adverse conditions, the Kingfisher Band has taken an energetic and original approach.

The Kingfisher Band is a tightly-knit group of families who adhere to the Anglican religious denomination. There is only one church in the community, with a local minister. This is significant in that religious factions have not arisen to impede people's ability to work together to attain common ends. The Band's cohesiveness as a social unit is reflected in the approach they have taken to the development of their community.

In general, Band members have sought to gain as high a degree of control as possible over their own affairs, and have pursued an independent course of development aimed at maximizing self-reliance and the local distribution of benefits from economic activity. They have proceeded cautiously to develop projects that can bring long-term improvements in both material conditions and morale. Step-by-step planning has been carried out through close co-operation between the people and the Band Council to ensure that priorities are shared and that all community members are able to participate in the development process. As Noah Winter, the Band Administrator, explains it, their community organization is similar to a family in which everyone's needs are considered, and all aspects of people's lives are taken into account; not just economic aspects, but social and cultural as well. In other words, the Band has taken a comprehensive and extremely careful approach to its development as a human community.

This process should not be idealized. It has involved the concrete application of principles arrived at through critical examination of the Band's situation. A number of years ago Band members began a careful and deliberate self-education. They learned everything they could about the Department of Indian Affairs and came to the conclusion that because of DIA's history and the way in which its programs were structured, they could not entirely trust government-initiated development programs. They wanted to plan their future themselves with as little outside involvement as possible. They learned about self-organizing and about what kinds of skills would be required to build up their community relying on their own resources to the fullest possible extent. In other words, they learned the basics of an approach to economic development appropriate to their own circumstances and aspirations.

The most important step taken by the Band towards increasing their independence and control over their own affairs was the establishment in 1980 of a non-profit socio-economic development corporation (the Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation). Its first priority was to purchase the local Hudson's Bay Company store. This store was the only retail outlet on the reserve for food, dry goods, equipment and fuel. For some time community members had been involved in discussions at General Meetings and over the local radio station regarding starting Band-owned, non-profit businesses or services which would be self-supporting, create employment, and provide social and morale benefits for the community as a whole. To

initiate action the Chief and Council made circulation of money within the community their first economic development priority. A study was done to ascertain what business or businesses were funneling the most monies out of the community: it was revealed that the Hudson's Bay Company was taking out 82% of the incoming monies. Thus, most of whatever money was obtained through the sale of furs, transfer payments, and occasional paid labour was immediately leaking out of Kingfisher as soon as anything was purchased from the store. With its local monopoly, the Bay camptrade store made substantial profits. None of these profits were being retained within the community, but were being enjoyed somewhere far away from Kingfisher Lake.

Based on this recognition of the extent to which the Bay store was draining capital away from their community, a motion was made at a General Meeting in June 1979 that the HBC be approached with a proposal that they sell the store to the Kingfisher Band. The motion was passed unanimously.

Initially, the Bay was reluctant to divest itself of this profitable operation. Community pressure had to be applied, and funds had to be raised. First, the Band set up a small store of their own to compete with the Bay store and begin raising funds needed for the purchase. A petition was circulated and signed by Band members eighteen years of age and over stating their support for the proposed takeover. Efforts were made to better inform community members of the economics of the transaction.

Then the manager of the Bay store, a Band member with fourteen years' experience, threatened to resign. This posed a very tangible problem for the Bay, because no other local resident was willing to be the replacement. A new manager at a higher salary would have to be brought in from outside, and a new residence constructed, as there was no available housing on the reserve. The prospect of incurring these expenses, combined with growing community pressure and allegiance to the new store, created a situation in which the Bay was prepared to sell.

The Band's ability to proceed with the purchase of the store property and inventory depended on obtaining two-year LEAP funding for wages and operating expenses, and some initial LEAP capital funds for fixtures and structural improvements. Once this funding was approved the Band would approach DIAND for a loan and grant from the IEDF for purchase of inventory. The Bay had indicated that it was prepared to meet with the Band when these two sources of funding were confirmed. Band representatives had met with LEAP and DIAND officials in June of 1979, and had received assurance of support in the application process.

An extensive feasibility study and application to LEAP was duly prepared by local people, at the Band's own expense. It covered all aspects of the project: the community context, overall objectives, social impacts, management and staff, a work plan, an operational plan, and detailed financial data. LEAP funding for the first two years of operation was required so that gross profits could be applied to the repayment of the

IEDF loan and a mortgage on the balance of the inventory to be held by the Bay. Other sources of funds were to include a contribution of Band funds for fixtures and structures, and personal loans from Band members.

The LEAP contribution was speedily approved. Although the IEDF funds took much longer to obtain, the transaction with the Bay was completed, giving ownership of the store to the Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation.

DIAND officials made efforts early on to convince the Band to adopt a co-operative structure for the store. This would have tied the store into the existing co-op network and support structures. From the Band's point of view this was not desirable, in that it might create openings for external interference and control. Another more important reason for not incorporating as a co-op was that payment of patronage dividends under a co-op would run counter to the community's purposes in gaining control over the main profitable business on the reserve; instead of profits being pooled and used to undertake projects beyond the capabilities of individuals, dividends would be dispersed and simply recycled through the store.

From the outset, as stated in the LEAP funding proposal, "emphasis was not to be on lowering present prices, but rather on having local control of the business and keeping the profits within the community". The community-owned store would "use the same average mark-ups, 25% for food and petroleum products, and 37.5% for dry goods, as the Bay . . . so that there would be no drastic changes in profits and prices". The fundamental

difference, of course, would be that substantial profits would be retained locally, and applied to developing projects that would benefit all community members.

The charter of the new corporation was intentionally drafted to allow for a wide latitude of goals and activities. This was in keeping with the Band's view that development is a multi-faceted process, involving every aspect of people's lives. A more limited, sectoral mandate for the corporation would have been an unnecessary restraint.

Having control over the store has made an enormous difference to the community's ability to plan and implement its own development programs. Retaining the store's profits gives the Band access to a vital element in the development process: an independent fund of capital to which no external strings are tied. At the same time, the Socio-Economic Development Corporation's structure and mandate provide the mechanism for participatory decision-making and sharing of responsibility, and also by definition ensure that the benefits of local initiatives will be widespread.

At a general meeting of the Corporation membership in 1980 priorities for further projects were set by consensus. A top priority was a laundromat. Washing and drying clothes in the bitter cold of wintertime is an extremely difficult and time and energy-consuming task for women in remote northern communities. Water must be fetched from a lake or river, firewood gathered to heat the water on a stove, the clothes scrubbed and rinsed and wrung by hand, and then hung to dry in

sub-zero temperatures. Kingfisher Band members agreed that a fully-equipped laundromat would be a significant improvement in their daily lives.

With a \$55,000 contribution from the LEAP program and \$57,000 from the store profits the Band has constructed a new building and installed several washers and dryers. Operating costs, including electricity, propane and maintenance are expected to be covered by the charges for using the facilities. A local person acts as a caretaker and collects the users' payments.

The Kingfisher laundromat, open since October 1982, is a bright, clean, well-maintained and fully operational community-controlled facility. Knowing that it was created at their own initiative and belongs to them, and that a substantial amount of their own money went into it, allows people to treat the laundromat with respect and pride. It was what people wanted, and they're taking good care of it.

DIA had no involvement in the laundromat project. This was by the Band's choice; from their experience they felt that DIA participation would lead to interference and delays, and a loss of their sense of community ownership and control.

Another important community project initiated by the SED Group (as the Corporation is known locally), in conjunction with the Band, is a mechanics/repair shop. Funding for building materials was obtained from DIAND and for labour costs in construction from CEIC. The Corporation contributed \$5,000 for tools and equipment. The Band is responsible for maintenance of the shop. The Kingfisher mechanics shop makes available to all

community members a heated, well-lit and well-equipped space where repairs and maintenance on all sorts of vital equipment -- skidoos, chainsaws, generators, etc. -- can be done. Before the creation of this facility, people often had to work on equipment out-of-doors (in the cold during the winter), and often without the requisite tools to do the job easily or well. A community shop avoids the duplication of specialized tools, while ensuring that everyone has access to what they need, and an appropriate place in which to work. Two dollars a day are paid to the Band for use of the shop facilities (there is a small additional fee for use of certain power tools).

There are several trained mechanics in the community who are present in the shop on a rotating basis. Whenever someone needs work done on a skidoo, chainsaw, generator or outboard motor that they can't do themselves, they can arrange for one of the skilled mechanics to do the repairs, or to assist them. Payment can be in the form of a monetary fee, or by exchange of skills and labour, or any other means that may be appropriate between the two. By operating the shop on this kind of basis repair costs for small motors are kept minimal and at the same time the opportunity for people to develop mechanical skills is enhanced. The Corporation is currently planning a carpentry shop which will operate on the same basis.

The community coffee shop is also operated by the Band in consultation with the SED Group. In addition to a part-time manager who receives a salary the coffee shop employs four to

six women on a rotating basis, each working for one week at a time. The employees are paid from the coffee shop surpluses. By employing several people who work on a rotational system the ability to extend skills and experience throughout the community is greatly increased.

In general, there is a concern to avoid a situation in which people become involved in only one activity or project as this may be the basis for the formation of interest groups and perhaps factions within the community. But also for the sake of people's broader education they feel it is better not to specialize in a single activity.

The Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation is presently in the planning stages of a project to replace the old store with a newer one. The new store will be built using the surpluses generated from the store sales, at a cost of approximately \$175-200,000. As much local material as possible will be used in construction. The old store will in the future be used for storage. Thus, within the space of only three years, the Corporation has moved from the point where it had to struggle to take over the existing store, to being able to replace it with a larger and better facility.

The Development Corporation in Kingfisher Lake was established to serve the needs of the entire community. It occasionally receives requests from various community committees and groups to assist them with specific projects. It has, for example, worked with the local recreation committee to purchase

various kinds of recreational equipment. Generally the development corporation will purchase the equipment and re-sell it to the committee at a small mark-up. The committee will then raise the money through a community fund-raising drive. The same approach was adopted when the local church decided to purchase a new organ through the corporation. There is no hesitation in paying the mark-up since it all goes into the Socio-Economic Development Corporation for projects which benefit the community as a whole.

The long-range objective of the Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation is to assist the community in finding sustainable alternatives to traditional pursuits as the central focus of economic life. They believe that the ability to pursue traditional activities may not last much longer and as they express it themselves, it is important to try not to live contradictions. The general perspective they have adopted in their planning is that even as traditional pursuits are declining new alternatives must be found and structured so that people can retain their dignity. In order to be able to plan a new way of life in accordance with this perspective they feel it is important to do what they can to avoid internal divisiveness and conflicts. Therefore, in addition to not putting too heavy an emphasis on traditional pursuits and thereby having within the community a traditional enclave and a modern enclave, they are also trying to avoid over-specialization in new undertakings. As well, to smooth the transition to new forms of employment, efforts are made to assure that employees in any

enterprise are happy in their work. Serious attention is paid to non-monetary conditions of work such as comfortable working conditions. This stems from the recognition that the rewards of work are not simply monetary; a lot depends on how a person is treated on the job.

The Development Corporation is presently conducting research into a number of specific projects which will help to realize the community's long-range objectives. Among these is an agricultural project in which they will assess the feasibility of community gardening and also of constructing community greenhouses. (Potatoes are already being grown locally, a significant step in this environment.) They are also investigating the possibility of providing an independent source of hydroelectric energy for the community. Preliminary research is now under way into various small-scale alternative energy systems. At the present time some domestic electricity consumption is provided by a diesel generating system provided by DIAND. This system, however, needs to be supplemented with small portable generators in most of the homes. Having their own energy system would mean not only more adequate electricity service but much more self-reliance at the community level.

The Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation was established as a non-profit corporation. The funds with which it operates come primarily from three sources: surplus from store sales, the local purchase of furs and their subsequent resale, and interest on term deposits. Also, all surpluses from the various community-based projects goes to the

corporation. The corporation's staff see the key to their successful planning in good accounting and accountability. They carefully assess the financial needs of any project before they undertake it and carefully plan initial funding and operations. They also assess the socio-economic impact of any project on the community. Careful audits are conducted regularly. The staff functions in such a way that the corporation is accountable for all activities to the membership which comprises the entire community. The corporation has a small staff which is directly accountable to a Board of Directors. There are nine members of the Board which represents

a cross-section of the community's families and consists of people with a range of skills. When the corporation was first being established, it was felt to be necessary to structure the Board in such a way that the corporation would not be dominated by a single family. They did this by not permitting more than three Board members from any family group. In general, they believe it is very important that their development activities be organized in such a way that the corporation's businesses remain separate from local politics. There has been a good deal of continuity in the Board and the composition of the Board as it was originally established still functions intact. The determination of the priorities for the corporation's activities is made at annual meetings when the community members express their preferences for projects and set the agenda for the following year. As mentioned earlier, it was at such an annual meeting that the decision was made for the corporation to establish a laundromat and mechanics shop.

The composition of the Board of the socio-economic development corporation is different from the composition of the Band Council. However, the two groups cooperate very closely and they see their respective areas of work complementing one another. The Chief, the Corporation Board and project staff meet regularly to discuss the progress of various activities, to identify potential problems, and to monitor financial affairs. As a further example of co-operation, the corporation, in addition to its economic development activities, also maintains a credit policy for individuals. But it is a credit policy different from the conventional approach to individual loans. If it appears that the individual requesting the loan may have some difficulty in repaying it, he/she will not simply be denied the loan and forgotten about. Rather, the corporation, the individual, and the Band will meet and an effort will be made to find employment for the individual or to identify other conditions which need to be dealt with so that repayment is possible. This may be done through various band-administered federal programs or other projects. Also, the two organizations share funds and frequently share expertise, in accounting, for example.

Conclusion

In assessing Kingfisher Lake's achievements in community-based economic development, we must stress that the non-profit Socio-Economic Development Corporation structure in itself hasn't ensured success. Rather, a whole set of circumstances, approaches and relationships has contributed to Kingfisher's "resonance" (its co-operative vitality and social cohesion) and allowed the community to tackle its own development problems so

energetically. Nowhere else will these factors be found in precisely the same combination; nonetheless, Kingfisher's experience suggests certain considerations that might be taken by other Bands wishing to increase their self-reliance while continuing of necessity to depend on transfer payments.

Among the factors contributing to Kingfisher's success are the following:

1. careful, step-by-step planning, involving intensive research and analysis of the community's material and human resources and its relationship to external agencies
2. close co-operation and open communication between leadership and community members in identifying needs and setting priorities
3. clear accountability of all projects through regular audits; accountability to all community members, not just to external agencies.
4. commitment on the part of community leaders to remain directly involved in grass-roots development
5. maintaining a distance from the Department of Indian Affairs, and minimizing the Department's involvement and interference in community projects
6. establishment of a non-profit Socio-Economic Development Corporation as the major vehicle for development planning, project implementation, and distribution of benefits
7. separation of the political leadership (Band government) from the administration of the Corporation, thus avoiding confusion of goals and manipulation of the Corporation to serve more limited interests

8. avoidance of factionalism by ensuring balanced representation of all family groups on the Corporation Board, and by discouraging the emergence of new religious sects in the community

9. establishment, through the Corporation, of an independent, community-controlled fund of capital, making possible deliberate, comprehensive planning and implementation of projects in line with community priorities

10. continuity in the development process, by encouraging project staff and Corporation Board members to remain involved for long terms; changes in personnel made gradually, to allow for adequate training of replacements; in general, making changes gradually so that people are aware of the implications in advance and are prepared to accept them

11. increased internal circulation of incoming monies through reinvestment of surplus in community projects

12. recognition of the importance of non-monetary values in the development process, e.g. dignity, good working conditions, sense of "ownership" and participation, compatibility with indigenous culture.

Note on Sources

This case study was prepared on the basis of interviews with Kingfisher Lake Band officials and directors of the Socio-Economic Development Corporation, and with reference to the Band's proposal to LEAP for the takeover of the local Hudon's Bay Company store.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The main issue in Ontario north of 50° is the development of its people. Development is not merely the allocation of a cluster of benefits to impoverished and marginalized social groups. Nor can it be externally induced by the injection of material, technical or financial resources, and led through a series of discrete and predetermined stages. Non-material values are of vital importance in people's evaluation of their own condition, and a sense of control and ownership of the institutions that shape their lives is indispensable to their well-being. This is not to suggest for a moment that material conditions can be disregarded or transcended. Rather, we wish to stress that for material changes to be truly beneficial, they must be brought about as part of a process of empowerment and social transformation, and under the control of the people whose lives they most directly affect.

Environmental policies for Ontario north of 50° should be framed with a view to fostering the attainment of the social, economic and cultural development goals of the majority of the area's inhabitants. In this sense, the realization of the potential for "natural resource" development should be seen as subordinate to the fulfillment of human needs and aspirations.

Making up two-thirds of the population of the area under consideration, the people of the Nishnawbe-Aski nation

have the greatest stake in determining the framework for development activity in the north. Their development, in their own terms, should be the top priority in any process of policy formation.

In light of this analysis, based on an examination of three decades of international development assistance, we strongly recommend to the Commission that steps be taken to involve the Nishnawbe-Aski nation, through its representative bodies at the Band, Tribal Council and Grand Council levels, as primary participants in the determination of development policies for Ontario north of 50°. Only if greater control is vested in the hands of the people whose traditional territories and physical environment will sustain the impact of resource development activities, will these activities be of long-term value in human terms, and help to break the destructive syndrome of dependency and underdevelopment.

2. The erosion of the traditional means of subsistence and the lifestyle (hunting, gathering, trapping, fishing) of indigenous people has enforced an artificial community structure in permanent settlements, and a dependence on external "aid" in the form of transfer payments and government services. This erosion, while it cannot be wholly reversed, should be halted. Steps should be taken to allow activities that are no longer "economic" in the context of

a market economy to be carried on productively, rather than relegating people to sedentary inactivity and a sense of purposelessness. Traditional pursuits are central to native people's cultural identity, and constitute the most environmentally sound and renewable means to exploit the relatively meagre resource base of the region. *We recommend that subsidies for fur harvesting and fishing should be set at levels that ensure a decent livelihood, and allow people to work with dignity.*

Continuation of traditional pursuits as the main alternative to welfare dependency also necessitates clear access to territories suitable for sustained harvesting. *We therefore recommend that land use guidelines for Ontario north of 50° should give priority of access to native trappers, hunters and fishermen.*

3. While compliance with the recommendations made above would lessen dependency and stem the tide of underdevelopment, the fact remains that native communities will continue of necessity to depend heavily on transfer payments. It is in this context that the aid relationship must be critically examined and altered to allow for a maximum of self-reliance and native control. Third World experience (as evidenced by our Caribbean case study) has shown that locally-controlled development agencies, as intermediaries between aid donors and recipients, are the most effective means to bring about the process of empowerment, social transformation and material improvement that defines development in its broadest sense.

We therefore recommend that support should be given to the consolidation of native-controlled development institutions, at the district and regional levels, as the primary planning, co-ordinating, implementing and evaluating mechanisms for development activities in Ontario north of 50°. This support should be non-interventionist, flexible and long-term, and allow for experimentation and inevitable instances of failure and misjudgement.

Devolution in its truest sense is not simply the assumption by native bureaucrats of existing programs and services. Rather, it is the transfer of control over the setting of priorities, the shaping of programs, and the evaluation of their success and failure. Devolution of control to native development institutions would not only replace non-native with native workers in the administrative apparatus, thus generating significant native employment and opening up opportunities for practical experience. It would also contribute to the empowerment of native people in determining the direction of their own lives.

4. Within the framework of native-controlled development institutions, specific attention should be paid to the potential of community-owned enterprises to increase self-reliance and provide alternatives to traditional pursuits. The experience of the Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation demonstrates that significant momentum can be generated when people work together for a common purpose, minimize outside

interference, cut down on the leakage of capital, and apply surplus to projects that benefit the community as a whole. Key operating principles in this process are careful, step-by-step planning, community-wide participation in setting priorities, open communication between leaders and community members, and good accountability (not just to external agencies) through regular audits.

The Big Trout Lake Furniture Shop experience makes clear the potential, albeit on a small scale, for the development of manufacturing enterprises in remote northern communities. In this instance outside non-native institutions, both private and governmental, have an important role to play as customers for the factory's products, as the meeting of local demand will not add to the total amount of capital circulating in the community.

Another important conclusion to be drawn from the Big Trout Lake Furniture Shop experience is that for resource-based enterprises to truly lessen dependence, access to and means for the provision of local resources must be established before the venture begins operation. In this case facilities for seasoning and properly drying locally-milled lumber should have been set up in advance.

In this regard, we recommend that the Commission, rather than encourage the establishment of resource-extraction industries supplying raw materials to processors and manufacturers in the southern metropole, should support as a higher priority the establishment (where they are

compatible with the continuation of traditional pursuits) of smaller-scale resource-extraction facilities geared to supplying manufacturing enterprises under community control in the northern hinterland.

2) the role of the LDA's in stimulating community skills development, including appropriate leadership roles in the development of community/project planning and establishment of priorities;

3) the relationship of the LDA's to international NGO funding sources so as to further a self-reliant community process, and the impact of global/national structures of underdevelopment on that process.

(i) The Community Development Process

A central conclusion which emerges from this case study is that Caribbean local development agencies have proved to be more successful in meeting community needs where they are still in fact controlled by those involved in community development at the local community level. In the case of the St. Vincent LDA, the support for projects at the community level has been a part of a conscious process to relate these projects to the stimulation of community vitality, confidence and group responsibility as well as to meet specific economic needs. The St. Vincent LDA has emerged directly out of and continues to find its raison d'etre within the programs of several community-rooted organizations on the island. It has structured its priorities in terms of the felt needs of these participating organizations and their relationship to rural community projects. Since its formation two years ago, this LDA has not developed an institutional rationale and program separate from the work of its component base.

Projects are not seen as ends in themselves by the St. Vincent LDA; one observer noted that "if the work of LDA's is only seen in the context of money for projects and specific skills training within a project, if they don't work out some process for continuing to grow in the community, for testing the vitality of the community, in the sense of an alternative approach to development, it is not going anywhere . . . " The work of St. Vincent community promoters (described in section B) "was a process indigenous to a community which in its specific projects might not involve everyone directly; but, they also tried to organize their projects (e.g. the snackette or the pre-school) in a way that draws the community into a local development process, that helps to develop those that are drawn in to another level". (Interview, October 15, 1982) The implications of this process for the St. Vincent LDA had several key components.

First, LDA support for projects arises from the community development work of active community animators. Farmers, for example, have come together on one part of the island to form a farmers' union through community level animation. The animator for the union moved from community to community during the first year, talking to farmers about the role of farmers as a social movement to change their situation, to identify their needs and problems. A revolving loan fund, to which both individual and groups of farmers could apply, was established early on through a grant from an international NGO. While the fund provided small loan assistance to farmers, it was also consciously

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This relationship between the project and the LDA have compounded other problems which an agricultural project faces.

The Project Manager makes the key decisions affecting the project in meetings with the LDA staff. While the co-op members have developed co-operative day to day management of the farm, their sense of responsibility to the project is largely determined by their relationship to the LDA. In the words of an evaluation report:

"Project participants do not consider the farm as their project; they view themselves merely as workers in the programme, not as the owners. To a great extent this has been caused by the LDA in that the LDA's image is too overbearing. The LDA director is seen not as a resource person, but as the very pillar of the venture. The group is committed to the ideals of the project but still regards it as belonging to someone else". (Project Evaluation Reports, 1982, p. 4)

In the content of a very difficult living situation and deteriorating farm infrastructure, this relationship has only added to the low morale of project members. As well, the project's dependency on the LDA for more capital inputs to give the project longer-term viability reinforces the image of the LDA and perpetuates an ultimately unsustainable role for the LDA in the project. While this is a particular example arising out of difficult circumstances, it does highlight the importance of complementing skills development with the promotion of a vital internal process of involvement and shared responsibility for the directions of the project.

The emphasis by the St. Vincent LDA on the priority of the community process offers a perspective on this dimension of leadership training. In this example, community promoters

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Revisions to Development Education Centre Submission

54. Conclusions and Recommendations

p. 3 (123), lines 6-8:

We recommend that equalization payments for fur harvesting and fishing, to offset extremely high overhead expenses for air transport, snow machines, fuel, equipment, etc., should be set at levels that ensure a decent livelihood and allow people to work with dignity.

p. 4 (124), lines 1-5

We therefore recommend that support should be given to the consolidation of native-controlled development institutions, at the local community, district and regional levels, as the primary planning, co-ordinating, implementing and evaluating mechanisms for development activities in Ontario north of 50°.

Rec'd June 16/83

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TRAPPING PRESENTATION

We want to present our concerns about Trapline Areas that were allocated to us by Ministry of Natural Resources.

In Kasabonika alone there are (6) six Trapline Areas and a total of 70 Trappers. These Trapline Areas that were allocated to us are not acceptable because it has been the tradition of our people, that they can trap anywhere they want without any conflict. The tradition still stands as of today.

Since trappers can trap anywhere they want, we have decided by combining all (6) Trapline Areas to make one community trapline, thus enabling the trappers to use any area preferred.

Another concern we have is that, we do not want our present Trapline Areas to be reduced anymore. According to our elders, the Trapline Areas that are presently in use are much smaller than they used to be.

Trapping is very important to our people and we cannot allow control of Trapline Areas to be in the hands of anyone but the people of Kasabonika.

Resolution made on
behalf of Kasabonika
Trappers. Read and signed by
— Gordon Morris
Kasabonika, Ont.
POU 140

Rec'd Sept. 28/83

H5
238

Box 322,
Red Lake, Ont.
POV 2MO

September 26th, 1983

Mr. J. E. J. Fahlgren,
Commissioner
The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment
Suite 201, 215 Red River Road
Thunder Bay, Ontario
P7B 1L5

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the Red Lake District A.O.T.S.
(As One That Serves) Men's Club, I wish to submit the
enclosed brief to your commission.

As a result of your commission's wide range
of investigations, almost everything is subject to your
scrutiny.

Our group lacks the expertise to comment on
such things as water and air pollution; the scalping of
our forests; the destruction of spawning beds in lakes
and streams, and so on.

The magnitude of your commission's impressive
researches and the views expressed regarding the West
Patricia Land Use Plan, especially the lack of native
participation, inspires us to wish your commission good
luck and may the good Lord bless your efforts with success.

Yours respectfully,

J. L. McEwen

J. L. McEwen

BRIEF
TO THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

By The
Red Lake District Men's AOTS Club

Local Government

1. Native Peoples:

It is our recommendation that complete local Self Government be granted the native population on reserves. We know that from time immemorial the native people have used "consensus" as the mode of settling local affairs and that they have little sympathy with the Majority versus Minority system's endless confrontations. We realize that both the provincial and federal governments have made some progress in realizing actual self-government on reserves, and we hope this will continue.

2. All areas:

We recommend an immediate end to Improvement Districts as such after an initial three-year period. Municipal governments should then be elected. We recommend an increase in the licensing powers of municipalities.

Finances

All communities north of the 50th degree have very limited financial resources. Whatever the cash flow generated by local activities, it is often syphoned off to Head Offices of large corporations located elsewhere, the result being that there is not a sufficient supply of capital, risk or otherwise. We realize that many northern communities do not now have, nor are they likely at any time in the near future (five to twenty years) to acquire sufficient viable industrial activities to make their communities self-supporting. Therefore if these communities are to survive, with services' standards not less than 25% below the level of the southern parts of our province, it is essential that more funds be made available by the provincial and federal governments. Suggested ideas for raising these funds:

1. A 1% gross royalty on Mining
2. A 2% " " " Forest Products
3. A 10% " revenue local branches LCBO
4. A 5% " " " " HEPC
5. A 1% surcharge on Commercial Fishing (for reserves only)
6. A 1% " " Tourism (" " ")

cont.

Finances cont.

Ideas that need to be studied for future use in trying to make the north self-supporting financially:

1. Large scale wild rice production
2. " " fish farms
3. " " fur farms
4. " " game farms
5. Adapting "Global Village" concepts in the use of Third Wave technology

Education

1. Native Communities

It is our recommendation that:

1. In the first three years of public school, education be bi-cultural, i.e. the native language and English or French.
2. A large proportion of teachers should be of native origin.
3. Texts should be cleared of racist slurs.
4. Efforts to support and reinforce native pride should be encouraged.
5. As many people will HAVE to leave the reserves to better their economic future, courses on how to fit into a multi-cultured life should be given on:
 - a. personal hygiene
 - b. property maintenance
 - c. financial responsibility
 - d. job responsibility
 - e. how to avoid being a welfare victim
 - f. elementary ways to cope with and understand laws

2. All Communities

Suggestions for improving the education system:

1. Basic provincial standards, all grades
2. Basic provincial examinations, grade 6 and up.
3. A change in grant structure to enable northern boards to compete with eastern boards in providing a sound basic education.
4. Education strategies be developed to enable all students to cope with technological change.

3. Global Village

1. Computer technology combined with the use of communication satellites will allow people living in northern communities to work at an increasing variety of jobs without the necessity of leaving the north , e.g., journalism, software production, accounting, design, etc. An effort should be made, therefore, to acquaint people with, and fit them for, such occupations. Such occupations allow great freedom for the individual in the matter of hours, work habits, etc.
2. Electronic "piece work" such as assembly of small components could be an ideal second industry in many small communities. The transportation costs would be minimal when compared to the value of the goods being produced.

Resources Management

1. Not enough forest regeneration is being done to ensure a lasting supply of forest products; this is very important in "slow growth" areas.
2. There are not any visible plans for industries to replace mining when the ore runs out.
3. Tourism: There is not enough high class accommodation available to attract and service large scale tours by bus or plane. We received this information from several large travel service firms.
4. Restore levels of productivity of fish-producing lakes and rivers. Suggested ideas:
 - a. closed seasons
 - b. smaller quotas
 - c. fish hatcheries

The government, as trustee of the resources of the province, has a moral responsibility to manage those resources in such a way that future generations may enjoy continuing prosperity, both economic and recreational.

Health

1. All communities

We are fortunate in Ontario to enjoy one of the world's best Health Services but it appears too top heavy with administration and clerical staff with a reduction in medical staff. This item needs immediate correction.

2. Reserves

Most reserves have no local medical doctors. Some have excellent nursing stations; the local inhabitants would feel more confidence in the staff if more native nurses were employed.

Law Enforcement

In general we are served by a first-rate police force, the O.P.P. In this vast area they are spread thin, but do a very good job.

1. Reserves

We are glad to see the increase in native police on reserves and hear good reports of their work; as this plan expands it should do much to reduce the plague of senseless vandalism that creates so much adverse criticism of native people.

2. Law - General

1. We believe that our court system is effective, with its graduations of levels to the Supreme Court of Canada.
2. We are pleased to see more "community service" sentences being used.
3. We support the minimal security type of jail, such as Community Resource Centres.
4. We recommend that Court worker programmes be continued.

Respectfully submitted,
Red Lake District Men's AOTS Club
per:



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Royal Commission
on the Northern
Environment

Arthur Square
215 Red River Road
Suite 201
Thunder Bay P7B 1A5
345-3658

From the Office of
the Chairman

December 12, 1983

SERIALS DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO - LIBRARY
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1A5

Dear Sir/Madam:

Enclosed please find hearing submission to the Royal
Commission on the Northern Environment number 239.

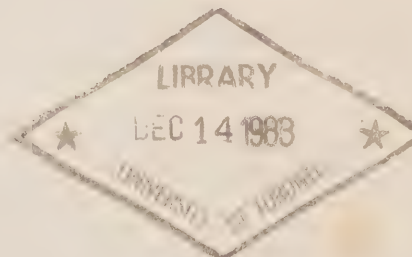
Sincerely,

Jane Nelson

J. Nelson,
Librarian.

JN/slf

Enclosure





CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF FORESTRY
INSTITUT CANADIEN D'ARBORESCEMENT

Government
Publications

11 MacDonald Hill
Timmins, Ontario

H5
239

November 21, 1983

Royal Commission on the Northern Environment
55 Bloor St. W. Suite 801
Toronto, Ontario
M4W 1A5

Dear Sir:

Following our submission to the Commissioner February 16, 1983, we were asked to elaborate on our suggestion that 'appropriate government agencies and industries should be urged to develop incentives and programs for improved utilization of currently non merchantable species and residues...'.

First we would like to applaud existing Provincial and Federal programs designed to promote the conservation of energy and increased utilization of waste for energy.

The Problem

There are numerous reasons attributable to stand condition which causes poor utilization of existing standing timber.

Some of these include 1) over mature timber, 2) well stocked low value hardwood or mixed stands, 3) poorly stocked stands with low volumes/acre of merchantable material, 4) well stocked dead or dying merchantable material due to fire or disease.

Other reasons for low utilization lie in harvest and processing practices which create waste.

Background

The current licencing system revolves around large forest areas which are allocated more or less exclusively to large wood using companies. These companies, for the most part, produce products such as lumber, paper, plywood or waferboard.

The raw material required for these products include 16' softwood logs, 8' pulpwood, 104" veneer bolts and 8' poplar bolts. Trees never grow in these exact sizes of multiples thereof. Forests are never comprised purely of the desired species for the particular Company's product. The complex system of exchanges of raw material between Companies, third party agreements etc. is a direct result of this oversight on Mother Nature's part. For a countless variety of reasons (eg: haul distances, poor quality, low stocking, poor markets, unsuitable timing, species mix, poor access) it is often not economical or practical to totally utilize the wood fibre on a given unit area of forest land. These Companies for the most part, find it challenging enough to operate profitably using current utilization practices without getting involved in increased utilization standards.

Recommendation

In many situations, the most practical way to utilize waste material on these

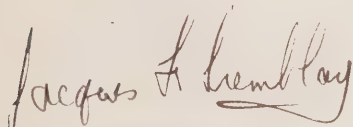
Company licenced areas is to encourage small businesses who can produce speciality products from waste on a small scale. The governments could encourage and finance feasibility studies to utilize waste and provide financial incentives to the small entrepreneur willing to carry out these operations.

The large Company licence holder could improve utilization by using the waste produced to supply energy required at the mill. Where this is feasible Companies should be encouraged to haul treelength to the mill. Government incentives should be in place to encourage the Companies to make the large initial investment required.

In summary improved utilization is a difficult goal, but one that should be continually strived for. Unique solutions for each situation have to be found. Proposals put forward by government and Company people each have to be assessed on their own merit by knowledgeable government representatives through an ongoing program to provide incentive for improved utilization.

Better utilization converts marginal forest to highly productive forest for the future. Maximum utilization of a given timber stand reduces subsequent regeneration costs.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Jacques F. Tremblay". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Jacques" and last name "Tremblay" clearly legible, and "F." as a middle initial.

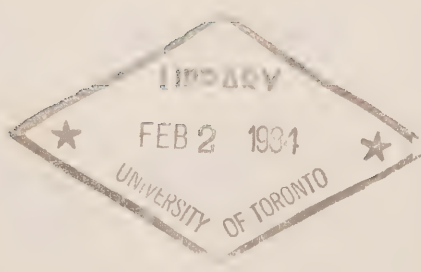
J. F. Tremblay, R.P.F.
C.I.F.
N.O. Section

Rec'd Oct. 28/83

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FINAL SUBMISSION
OF THE
KAYAHNA AREA TRIBAL COUNCIL
TO THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

DATED:
OCTOBER, 1983.



I N D E X

1. APPENDIX I

LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY STUDY

Prepared by Prof. K. Sieciechowicz

2. APPENDIX II

RENEWABLE RESOURCES IN KAYAHNA:
PAST AND FUTURE

Prepared by Jane Henson

3. APPENDIX III

PRESENTATION OF KINGFISHER LAKE BAND
TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN
ENVIRONMENT

Dated: June 14, 1983

4. APPENDIX IV

PRESENTATION OF KASABONIKA LAKE BAND
TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN
ENVIRONMENT

Dated: June 16, 1983

5. APPENDIX V

PRESENTATION OF WUNNUMMIN LAKE BAND
TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN
ENVIRONMENT

Dated: June 15, 1983

The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment (R.C.N.E.) was established in July, 1977 to:

- (i) inquire into any beneficial and adverse effects on the environment for the people of Ontario of major enterprises north of the 50th parallel of north latitude such as those related to harvesting, supply and use of timber resources, mining, milling, smelting, oil and gas extraction, hydro-electric development, nuclear power development, water use, tourism and recreation, transportation, communications or pipelines;
- (ii) to inquire into methods that should be used in the future to assess, evaluate and make decisions concerning the effects on the environment of such major enterprises; and
- (iii) to investigate the feasibility and desirability of alternative undertakings north of the 50th parallel.

In April, 1978 the R.C.N.E. presented a preliminary report to the premier of Ontario with three recommendations:

- (1) the establishment of a continuing commission on the northern environment to consider the ongoing questions of development north of the 50th parallel north latitude and how instruments such as the Environmental Assessment Act R.S.O. 1980, Chapter 140 may be utilized to ensure adequate social and physical planning before development occurs;

(2) the establishment of a task force of northern residents to encourage dialogue with and among fellow northerners;

(3) the establishment of a tri-partite body composed of federal, provincial and Indian members to deal with the outstanding and unresolved issues of status Indian people.

In December, 1978 the R.C.N.E. published an Issues Report which sought to summarize its work until that time and to delineate the issues surrounding major development north of 50. These issues were identified by the Commission as being concerns surrounding decision making for major projects north of 50 and focused on the powerlessness of the Indian people and others living in northern Ontario to influence the course of development.

Specifically, the Issues Report identified the following concerns:

(i) the lack of consultation with the people who live north of 50 about development that will effect their future;

(ii) the fact that most northern development is for the benefit of persons not domiciled or employed north of 50;

(iii) the inability and unwillingness of the two levels of government to resolve the questions of Indian land claims and Indian rights to self-determination.

Since the release of the Issues Report the R.C.N.E. has continued its work and has received a plethora of submissions reflecting a wide range of views. The Kayahna Area Tribal Council (K.A.T.C.) has participated in the Commission's work throughout this period both by way of written submission and at

the various public hearings in northern white and native communities. The K.A.T.C. has also reviewed the various submissions to the Commission and wishes at this time to summarize the evidence and concretize its recommendations.

THE POSITION OF THE KAYAHNA TRIBAL COUNCIL

1. THERE MUST BE NO DEVELOPMENT NORTH OF THE 50TH PARALLEL UNTIL THE QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND HAS BEEN SETTLED

It is self-evident that a determination as to ownership of the land north of the 50th parallel must be made prior to any decisions as to development of such land. The native people of Kayahna and elsewhere in the north claim complete right and title to such lands including the sub-surface rights thereof and insist on their unfettered right to control the development and exploration of such lands.

The Province of Ontario also claims ownership of these lands on the grounds that they are for the most unoccupied Crown land and subject to development at the King's prerogative. The Province's claim is based on sections 92(5) and 109 of the British North America Act and Treaty #9. Section 92(5) provides that:

"in each province, the Legislature may exclusively make Laws relating to the Management and Sale of the Public Lands belonging to the Province and of the Timber and Wood thereon."

Section 109 of the BNA Act provides that:

"All Lands, Mines, Minerals and Royalties belonging to the Provinces of Canada at the Union of 1867 shall belong to the new Provinces of Ontario and Quebec subject to...any interest other than that of the Province in the same."

Under the terms of Treaty #9 signed in 1905-06 the Kayahna people are considered to have agreed to cede, release, surrender and yield up to the King all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to their lands. The Ontario government maintains that inasmuch as Indian title is "an interest other than that of the Province", and was extinguished by Treaty #9, that the Kayahna lands are now "unoccupied Crown lands", the resources of which belong to all citizens of Ontario.

The Kayahna Area Tribal Council is comprised of seven communities with a population numbering approximately 2,100 inhabitants and it vigorously rejects the interpretation of the Ontario government concerning the ownership of their land.

The Royal Proclamation became law in 1763. It recognized the existence of the territorial rights of Indians and established procedures for the surrender of those rights to the British Crown. Its purpose was to allow for the legal transfer of land from Indians to the Crown so that the British government could control the spread of settlement and prevent individuals from encroaching on Indian land.

After 1763 all lands in Upper Canada were considered to be Crown lands inasmuch as title was ultimately vested in the King. The King then proceeded to grant various interests in these lands such as leases, licences or fee simple demises to allow persons to use such lands for various purposes and varying periods of time. The Kayahna lands were referred to as "Crown lands in the exclusive possession of Indian people", usually called "Indian lands" or "Indian reserves". They were not what were known as "waste or vacant lands of the Crown" -- that is

lands which the King was free to grant to White settlers. The only means by which "Indian lands" could become "waste lands of the Crown" was by following the formula set out in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The Indian people "inhabiting or claiming" the lands which the Crown wanted to acquire for white settlement would be approached to see if they were "inclined to dispose" of the lands. If they were willing, a meeting would be held and a deed would be drawn up and signed by both parties.

Before Confederation in 1867, transactions with the Indian people in what is now Ontario were styled "indenture" or "agreement" in accordance with the land law of the time. They were contracts by which the Indian people consented to transfer to the Crown their "native title" or their right of exclusive possession and use of their land. The native people were not ceding "ownership" of their land to the Crown -- they were only ceding exclusive possession and use and this is consistent with the provision of Treaty #9 which provides that:

"His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described...saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes."

It is also consistent with the legal history of Ontario's "acquisition" of the land in the Kayahna area.

In 1867 the boundaries of Ontario only extended as far as the "height of land" north of Lakes Huron and Superior (the southern boundary of Treaty #9); lands to the north of this divide were considered part of Rupert's Land, the Hudson's Bay Territory. Section 146 of the B.N.A. Act provided that "on

address from the Houses of Parliament of Canada" the Queen could admit Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory to the Union. Such an address was made to the Queen in December of 1857 by the Canadian Senate and House of Commons. The following paragraph appeared in that address:

"And furthermore that, upon the transference of the territories in question to the Canadian government, the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement will be considered and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the British Crown in its dealings with the aboriginies."

These "equitable principles" referred to are certainly the Royal Proclamation of 1763 together with the subsequent directories and instructions promulgated thereunder. This is made clearer by reference to the Imperial Order in Council of June 23, 1870 transferring Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory to the Dominion of Canada. Clause 14 thereof states that:

"Any claims of Indians to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement shall be disposed of by the Canadian Government in communication with the Imperial Government; and the Company [Hudson's Bay Company] shall be relieved of all responsibility in respect of them."

The intention of the Canadian and British Crown was clear. They intended to negotiate with the various native people according to the provisions set out in the Royal Proclamation of 1763 for the surrender of lands needed for settlement and on the understanding that such settlement would never interfere with the livelihood or lifestyle of the native people. It is our submission that it is the Ontario and Federal governments who at best possess a usufructory right to use Indian land for discreet purposes at the sufferance of the native people concerned.

Agreements signed with the native people following Confederation can be both treaties in the international law sense and/or contracts or debentures in the domestic law context. The former is to arrange for the peace and goodwill between two sovereign nations -- the Indian peoples and the British Crown; the latter is intended to arrange for the surrender of land and the two concepts are not mutually inclusive.

An examination of Treaty #1 negotiated on August 3, 1871 between Her Majesty the Queen and the Chippewa and Swampy Cree people of what is now southern Manitoba illustrate this difference. The treaty states:

"and whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioner that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up to settlement and immigration a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned and to obtain the consent there to of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrangements with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty."

The reference to "consent" is the crucial part of the "contract" segment, while the "treaty" portion is to arrange for the "peace and good will" of the Indian people. In exchange for various considerations, the Chippewa and Swampy Cree tribes agreed to "cede, release, surrender and yield up to Her Majesty the Queen...all the lands" within certain defined limits, and later, to "maintain perpetual peace between themselves and Her Majesty's White subjects". The distinction between "contract" and "treaty" provisions is patent throughout the treaty document.

The issue of consent is central to the signing of any treaty or contract, and we now proceed to an examination of "Treaty #9" with a view to determining whether there was the requisite consent to the surrender of land and to the entering

into a new "peaceful" relationship with the Dominion of Canada.

In 1889, that portion of what is now the Treaty #9 area between the "height of land" and the Albany River was included in the boundaries of the Province of Ontario. The Dominion government beginning in 1904 entered into correspondence with the Province of Ontario concerning the entering into a treaty with the Indians in what is now the Treaty 9 area. On June 3, 1904 Frank Pedley, the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs wrote to Aubrey White the Assistant Commissioner of Crown lands as follows:

" The purpose of my communication of the 30th of April, was to lay the matter fully before your Government with the hope of obtaining concurrence in the proposed action. The terms laid down upon the maximum terms which would, in any event, be offered to the Indians. They are in effect the same as those fixed by the Robinson treaty, and the Government interested might be considered fortunate to cancel the Indian title by considerations which were thought adequate in the year 1850. It is the fixed policy of the government to pave the way for explorations, location and construction of railway lines by the extinction of all aboriginal rights in the territory to be exploited; and as great interest now centre in this northern part of the Province of Ontario, which is not covered by a treaty, it is important to have a definite and clear understanding with your government upon all points involved and to negotiate a treaty at an early date".

Official authority for negotiating a treaty came from a Report of a Committee of the Privy Council approved by the Governor General on July 3, 1905 which shows that Treaty #9 was intended to be both treaty and contract.

"The Minister (of Indian Affairs) states that, it has now become necessary to obtain extinction of the Indian title to certain portions of the said Province hereinafter mentioned and described, in order to maintain the friendly relation which has

existed between the Government of Canada and the Indian tribes and to promote quiet settlement and colonization, and to forward the construction of railroads and highways within the northern part of the Province of Ontario, and it is expedient that negotiations should be made with the Indians inhabiting these territories for the cessation of all their right and title thereto".

The phrases "friendly relation" and "quiet settlement" and "colonization" relate to the "peace and friendship" portion of the document, while the phrase "negotiations for the cessation of all their rights and title" refers to the contract.

Did the Indians who signed Treaty #9 consent to both the Treaty and contract portions of the document? At Osnaburgh the Commissioners who were negotiating on behalf of the Federal government made the following observations:

"Missabay the recognized chief of the band, then spoke expressing the fears of the Indians that, if they signed the treaty they would be compelled to reside upon the reserve to be set apart for them, and would be deprived of the fishing and hunting priveleges which they now enjoy.

On being informed that their fears in regard to both these matters were groundless, as their present manner of making their livelihood would in no way be interfered with, the Indians. . . asked to be given to the following day to prepare their reply.

The next morning. . .the chief spoke, stating that full consideration had been given the request made to them to enter into treaty with His Majesty, and they were prepared to sign, as they believed that nothing but good was intended. The money they would receive would be of great benefit to them, and the Indians were all very thankful for the advantages they would receive from the treaty."

The above passage must be compared to the actual wording of the Treaty. According to that document the Indian people "do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the government of the Dominion of Canada,...all their rights, titles

and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits."

With reference to hunting and fishing the Treaty goes on to provide that "...the Indians shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing...". It is difficult to reconcile this Treaty. If the Indian people were told they would not be compelled to reside on their reserve and that their present manner of making their livelihood would in no way be interfered with, then what were they being asked to give up? It is our position that the Osnaburgh people believed they were entering into a peace treaty with the King in exchange for certain considerations which would come to them should they choose to live on their reserves. The Indian people of the Treaty #9 area in general and of the Kayahna area in particular never consented to an agreement which gave up their rights to hunt, fish and trap and to manage and develop their land as they see fit.

Accordingly, it is the position of the Kayahna Area Tribal Council that no development can take place on their land without their express consent.

RECOMMENDATION #1

That no development take place on Kayahna lands without the express consent of the Indian people.

THE POSITION OF THE KAYAHNA AREA TRIBAL COUNCIL

2. NO DEVELOPMENT NORTH OF THE 50TH PARALLEL UNTIL INDIAN SELF GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

Before the British and French came to North America, the Indian people were self-governing natives. The various peoples had distinct cultures and clearly defined boundaries. Authority over the lands they occupied was clear and recognized by other Indian natives living in their respective areas.

The people of the Kayahna area administered their own affairs. They possessed a working legal and political system which included mechanisms for education, land use planning and the provision of social services. Since the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs and more particularly since the passage of the Indian Act, the government of Indians has been directed by a Cabinet Minister elected by the larger Canadian society. In recent years the Minister responsible for Indian affairs has also been responsible for northern development. This obvious conflict creates insurmountable problems with respect to decision-making in the best interests of Indian people. The Minister of Indian Affairs is ostensibly responsible for "Indians and Indian lands" throughout this Dominion. The provincial government had no power to take Indian lands or to exercise authority on lands reserved for Indian use.

In 1876 the Federal government passed the first Indian Act which outlined the exercise of its authority over Indians and lands reserved for them given under the B.N.A. Act. This legislation firmly and legally established a "trust" or fiduciary relationship between Indians and the Federal government. The trust relationship made Indians wards of the Federal government. The terms of this trust gave the Federal government total

authority over all aspects of Indian life. It also placed the Federal government and more particularly the Minister of Indian Affairs in the position of "trustee" vis a vis Indians and Indian bands.

While treaties specified the size and area of reserves, the Indian Act established the terms of control and management of reserves. Reserves are not owned by the Bands that reside on them. They are held (owned) by the Federal government who administers them for the benefit of Indians. Because Indians do not own their reserves and the land is held in trust by the Federal government, all use of reserve land and resources must be approved by the Minister of Indian Affairs. Furthermore, reserve land can be taken by the Federal government for public works such as roads, railways, airports provided that compensation is paid.

Despite this fiduciary relationship, there has been a reluctance on the part of the Federal government to fulfill its obligations. Since the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company v. The Queen holding that the government of Ontario can deal with certain lands (in the Treaty #3 area) after the extinguishment of Indian title, the Federal government has done little to protect the treaty rights of Kayahna residents to continue to hunt, fish and trap over land not needed for settlement.

The fiduciary obligations of a trustee are well defined in British common law. They include the following "substratum" obligations which govern all actions of a trustee:

- (i) no trustee may delegate his power to others;

- (ii) no trustee may profit personally from his dealings with the trust property, with the beneficiaries, or as a trustee;
- (iii) a trustee must act honestly and with that level of skill and prudence which would be expected of the reasonable man of business administering his own affairs;
- (iv) a trustee must take all precautions to protect the corpus of the trust property.

The various Ministers of Indian Affairs have continually avoided these fiduciaries obligations. More recent and notorious examples include the failure of the Minister to take action against Ontario Hydro for flooding part of the Whitedog reserve in the late 1950's; failure of the Minister to take action against the Reed Paper Company to prevent or to pay compensation for the pollution of the English-Wabigoon River system; ; failure of the Minister to prevent the placement of native children in white foster homes many miles from their homeland; failure of the Minister to participate in any meaningful way in the R.C.N.E. inquiry, etc, etc, etc.

While the Federal government does little to protect the Indian Peoples from third party interference with their lands and economies, it has taken great pains to exercise its authority over Indians and their lands. The Indian Act controls the number of Chiefs and councillors and the manner of their election. It establishes the scope of the Band Council's powers and provides that a copy of any by-law must be sent to the Department of

Indian Affairs within 4 days of being made. Such by-laws only come into effect 40 days after being approved by the Department.

According to Section 73 of the Indian Act the Government can make regulations concerning any or all matters ostensibly within the Band Council control. The Government can also state the punishment for the violation of any of these regulations. If the Government considers a particular Band to be at an "advanced stage of development" it can allow the Band Council to make by-laws concerning:

- (i) taxation of monies owing to the Band;
- (ii) licenses for business or occupations;
- (iii) responsibilities and wages of Band Council employees;
- (iv) raising of money from Band members to support Band projects;
- (v) anything which necessarily results from the above.

All of these by-laws must be approved by the Department before they are effective and the government maintains the prerogative to cancel the "advanced stage of development at any time". It is obvious that the "trustee" notion has become a fraud and an illusion. The only remedy is the establishment of strong Indian governments with total control over all aspects of Indian affairs. At least since the Royal Proclamation of 1763 the British Crown recognized the Indian peoples as sovereign nations and negotiated with them as such. Why is it that sovereign Indian nations by virtue of having signed a treaty with the Dominion of Canada are thereby afforded the status of a colonized people and are deprived of normative civil rights? Regardless of how the question of land ownership is ultimately

resolved, the native people assert their right to govern their own policy and in particular to make decisions concerning band membership, health and social services, education, justice, policing, taxation, economic and social development and income security programmes.

RECOMMENDATION #2

That no major development take place north of the 50th Parallel until Indian self-government has been established.

THE POSITION OF THE KAYAHNA AREA TRIBAL COUNCIL

3. ANY DEVELOPMENT NORTH OF THE 50TH PARALLEL NORTH-LATITUDE MUST HAVE THE CONSENT OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES.

The history and culture of the native people is inextricably linked to the land. The renewable resource sector continues to play a significant role in the economic, social and cultural life of the Native people of the Kayahna Area, despite the inroads made by the northward movement of the industrial wage-labour and welfare economy. The importance of the renewable resource sector (here defined as trapping/hunting, fishing, forestry and agriculture) is vital to the life of the Kayahna communities from a number of perspectives.

First, this sector makes a fundamental contribution to the total economic well-being of the communities. From a subsistence point of view, country food (both game and fish), timber

resources for fuel and construction, and agricultural production, all harvested locally, decrease the amount of cash spent inside and outside the area by local people and contribute greatly to their economic well-being; the replacement cost of each of these commodities in the market economy would be a substantial additional drain on their incomes. In addition, country food provides a nutritrional value to the local diet that could not be replaced by retail stores such as the Hudson's Bay Company except at great cost, and then perhaps not at all, given the generally low quality of meat, fish, and produce traditionally available through this outlet, and its relatively high cost due to transportation rates. It is estimated, for example, that in Kingfisher Lake, 50% of the food consumer is country food; in Big Trout Lake, the estimate is 15-30%. Although there may be wide variations from community to community, an averall rough estimate is that 25% of all food consumed is country food. The LEAP feasibility report for the Big Trout Lake Furniture Factory estimates that for a family income that would be equivalent to \$8,000 in a cash economy, at least \$4,000 would be made up of country food and DIAND subsidies for housing. Country food contributes a substantial amount to total income.

From a commercial point of view, fur harvesting, fishing and logging/sawmilling contribute financially to the communities, in terms of cash income from the harvest of fish and fur and wage labour in forestry production for those who engage in these activities.

Second, the renewable resource sector makes an irreplaceable social and cultural contribution to the Kiyahna Area by serving

as the material basis for Native culture. We would argue that without Native control of the material basis of the land and its resources, and their patterns of harmonious land use, those aspects of Native culture which are unique and valuable and which Native people themselves want to nurture and protect can not survive. The ownership and control of the renewable resource sector by Native people will allow the passing of skills and a cultural lifestyle from one generation to the next.

Third, Native control of the renewable resource economy makes an important political contribution to their struggle for self-determination. Identifying existing patterns of traditional resource-use and demonstrating their vital contribution to the economic and social life of the communities may be one of the means by which the Kayahna Area Tribal Council can counter the northward movement of large-scale industrial development in the form of mining, logging, hydro, and oil/gas pipeline projects. Such large-scale industrial development can occur only at the expense of the Native-controlled renewable resource economy: the two cannot co-exist unless Native people themselves control the extent and pace of industrial development. (see Appendix II)

The land is more than just an economic resource for Indian People. Whatever threatens the hunting, fishing and trapping activity of the native people threatens the native people themselves. Hunting, fishing and trapping are more than just sources of food or isolated economic activities. They are the activities around which the cultural and political activities of the community are organized.

These sentiments were made clear in the submissions made to

the RCNE at their public hearing held in the various Kayahna communities in June, 1983. (see Appendices III, IV, and V) As a result, the Kayahna Area Tribal Council feels that there must be no major development north of the 50th parallel which impinges on their ability to use the land.

RECOMMENDATION #3

That there be no development north of the 50th parallel which interferes with the native peoples use of the land without their consent.

THE POSITION OF THE KAYAHNA AREA TRIBAL COUNCIL

4. NO DEVELOPMENT SHOULD TAKE PLACE NORTH OF THE 50TH PARALLEL UNTIL DETAILED LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY STUDIES ARE COMPLETED FOR THE NATIVE PEOPLE LIVING IN THE AREA.

Based on the preliminary results of a land use study completed for the Kayahna area communities and attached as Appendix I to this submission the Kayahna Area Tribal Council submits that the land surrounding their communities is already being fully utilized. This utilization is intensive and in the main exclusive and has existed since time immemorial.

Prior to the fur trade, the commerce of the Cree and Ojibway people of the Kayahna region consisted mainly of trade in kind between scattered bands and individuals. Since most goods were produced locally from the renewable resources, this was a period of relative self-sufficiency although marked by great hardships and a high rate of infant mortality.

By 1856, the Hudson's Bay Company had built fur-trade posts at Big Trout Lake, Fort Severn, Oxford House, York Factory and Fort Churchill. This period marked the beginning of dependency on the resources of Euro-Canadians. For the Cree and Ojibway, contact with the HBC created new appetites for consumer goods which only the HBC could satisfy and new subsistence techniques which demanded equipment which only the HBC could supply.

While native people became dependent on the exigencies of the fur trade, they did not at this stage have to make two critical adjustments. They did not have to become wage-earners nor did they have to give up their ownership of the land: neither their labour-time nor their land had, as yet, become themselves marketable commodities.

With the decline of the European fur market after the turn of the century native people were no longer able to earn the money necessary to make purchases from the HBC. The federal government intervened and provided welfare, family allowance and other forms of transfer payments to the native peoples. This support was given however at the price of almost total loss of economic independence.

Increased contact with Euro-Canadians brought permanent settlement and saw the building of community infrastructures: nursing stations, schools, frame houses, air strips and later, commercial fishing activities. For some, mostly always the married men of the communities, it provided opportunities for local wage-employment. Native people were also encouraged to join the industrial wage-economy by seeking employment on the rails and in the woods and mines to the south. This era marked a

radical shift away from an economy entirely based on trapping and traditional modes of subsistence. With wage-employment, it was no longer possible to be one's own boss. The institutions were controlled by Euro-Canadians. Wage-employment also meant a departure from the family work unit which was central to traditional trapping and fishing pursuits. At the same time natural resource exploitation industries crept north onto native lands.

The early 1960's brought a sharp rise in the number of welfare recipients and a corresponding decline in community initiative. The late '60's and the '70's saw the emergence of a number of government sponsored make-work programmes which served to boost limited wage-employment opportunities on many of the reserves but did little to bolster the local economy. Behind the rhetoric of government programmes, policies and assistance lies an inherent belief in private ownership, entrepreneurialship and industrialization, the cornerstones of western economic values which have no roots in the traditions of the Cree and Ojibway.

Native values and traditions are based on the communal sharing of resources whereas Euro-Canadian values are based on the alienation of resources to private ownership. Thus band-controlled or community-owned ventures have stronger roots in Indian tradition than private ownership and individual profit-motivation.

Similarly, the aggressive entrepreneurial spirit which makes business tick in the south is difficult to find in northern native communities. Attempts to foster entrepreneurialship more

often than not create divisive tensions in the community and are met with resistance. Resource development based on mega-projects such as pipelines, hydro-electric development and mining are foreign to the native peoples, interfere with their use of the land, and are of little benefit to them individually or collectively except to provide some short-term wage-employment. Any land use north of the 50th parallel must not interfere with existing land use and occupancy. In addition it should fall within the following parameters:

(i) a local economic development strategy must be tied into a comprehensive socio-economic development strategy which is designed to ensure that the traditional economy is maintained and that all future development is undertaken in the collective interests of all residents of the Kayahna region.

(ii) Any development must be based on renewable resource land-use and must strengthen the traditional native economy. Kayahna communities must have secure and uncontested access to sufficient land and water resources to ensure a future for an economy based on traditional pursuits.

(iii) Any local economic development must ensure the retention of earnings and returns on capital within the region. Economic activity initiated by organizations based outside the Kayahna region in which decisions as to operations and profits from the undertaking are removed from the region are totally unacceptable.

(iv) Economic development must be directed towards activities that create small businesses in the Kayahna area which produce material goods, that are compatible with native cultural

traditions and Indian values.

(v) Economic development must be based on local control over decision making processes and must encourage community-based economic development and ownership structures which allow for community participation and control.

There can be no development within the Kayahna region unless all of the above pre-requisites are met. Any future development must be consistent with the existing land use patterns.

RECOMMENDATION #4

That no development take place within the Kayahna Region until detailed land use and occupancy studies are completed for the Kayahna area.

THE POSITION OF THE KAYAHNA AREA TRIBAL COUNCIL

5. THAT THE PROVINCIAL CROWN CANNOT AUTHORIZE ANY ACTIVITY ON CROWN LANDS WHICH FUNDAMENTALLY ALTER THE NATURE OF THE LAND.

Crown lands are public lands held in trust by the Crown for present and future generations. As such the government of Ontario cannot alienate the land or authorize any activity upon the land the effect of which will fundamentally alter the corpus of the trust. Hydro-electric projects which involve flooding of land, strip mining and shaft mining which deposit tailings on the land, all weather roads, and other similar activities that fundamentally and irrevocably change the face of the land are not permissible.

The provincial government has fiduciary obligations with respect to these lands and as such must take steps to protect the land from encroachment and alteration.

These lands form part of a public trust. The Provincial Government has an obligation to protect Crown land from exploitation which alters its basic nature and the people of Ontario have a right to expect their government to respect their fiduciary obligations and to preserve the land for future generations.

RECOMMENDATION #5

That Provincial Crown Lands be recognized as trust properties and that the Provincial Crown be bound as fiduciaries

with respect to the disposition and use of such lands.

POSITION OF THE KAYAHNA AREA TRIBAL COUNCIL

6. THAT NO DEVELOPMENT TAKE PLACE ON CROWN LAND NORTH OF THE 50TH PARALLELL WITHOUT HAVING A HEARING PURSUANT TO THE ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT ACT.

There have been numerous submissions to date to the Commission concerning the environmental assessment process and suggesting amendments to existing legislation. We have reviewed these submissions and it is not our intention to elaborate on them in any detail.

The concerns of the Kayahna Area Tribal Council are as follows:

(1) There must be no exemptions from an environmental assessment for projects north of the 50th parallel outside of existing municipalities which involve the disposition or alienation of Crown land whether the proponent be in the public or private sector. This requirement would apply to all "undertakings" and would include the strategic land use plans and forest management agreements. Class environmental assessments must not be used as a substitute for individual assessments of specific proposals;

(2) adequate funding must be made available to native people to meaningfully participate in the assessment process.

We trust that the position of the Kayahna Area Tribal Council is clear and that this Commission will make

recommendations to ensure that the culture and economy of the native people is preserved.

APPENDIX I

THE LAND UTILIZATION AND OCCUPANCY STUDY

Introduction

In recent Northern Studies there has evolved an entire genre of land utilization and occupancy studies. The present study on Northern Ontario comes somewhat at the end of this string of studies and departs from their objectives and layout in several critical ways such that one can state that the Northern Ontario Study broaches on a new area of defining the social relations of land utilization and occupancy, and defining in a most preliminary way the property rights and customary regulations of land utilization and tenure.

The fore-runners of this study were projects initiated by geographers and economists (sometimes under the auspices of anthropologists) whose primary objectives and interests were to document the maximal extent of the lands used, the means of utilization, and to document the products of this utilization. Totally absent from these studies was analysis of how these lands were utilized, that is, what are the social relations between people enabling individuals to utilize the lands in a productive manner in the first place. After all, people continually do organize themselves into social units for the purposes of various social, political and economic activities. Land is not just used in an anarchistic fashion. Land is clearly utilized and held in very specific ways which vary from region to region, group to group and this very particularity was missing from virtually all other studies of northern land utilization.

The particularity and the internal logic of land utilization and tenure is what the Anishnawbe-Aski land utilization and occupancy study is designed to develop. It was seen as critical to describe both in map form and in text the intellectual reasoning for how many lands of varied utility and value were apportioned between and among groups. How the stability of the process was achieved and maintained through a lifetime, and how lands were transferred between generations.

As in many of the other studies, the initial objective of the Land Utilization and Occupancy Study was to simply map the extent of the lands utilized by individual and by year. However, very early on in this study I received clear indications from the individuals interviewed that straight mapping needed a lot of

explication. What we were getting on the maps were myriads of lines and circles which appeared to cross-section the areas used by not only others from the same community and from different families, but also by individuals from other settlements as well. Putting dates to the lines and circles helped to set the activities of individuals into a chronological order, but an explanation of why individuals were in these territories was expressly required. A development of the social networks of the populations interviewed was the next priority of the work in the project. With this stage, the work became most complicated.

Theme of the Northern Ontario Land Utilization and Occupancy Study---

The recurrent theme that emerged in the analysis of land utilization patterns was the underlying consistency of form through time. By investigating the social units controlling access to lands it becomes self-evident that the land tenure questions, the staple of sub-arctic ethnographies (Knight 1964), have muddled rather than clarified the nature of land-holding in Indian society.

This study stresses the social and juridico-political level of the mode of production rather than ideology.

Mapping Studies

The mapping of territories has undergone substantial change. The first efforts were those of Speck, who drew out individual family territories for many of the Northeastern tribes

(1915a,b; 1922; 1923; 1927). Davidson followed with mapping of the Waswinipi (1928a). Apart from a few regional modification of the Speck and Davidson style of mapping, there were few changes in the mapping process, in the studies of 50 years later.

In 1976, the Inuit Tapirisat in conjunction with Milton Freeman produced a three volume report on Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project. One of the volumes is a land use atlas (v.3). The extensiveness of the Inuit research is marred by the fact that while areas used are marked, by how many individuals is not. In other words, the intensity component is absent. There is no indication of whether the markings on each map are attributable to one individual, a family, or sets of families, though most belong to single individuals.

The Dene Brotherhood land-use project remedied this problem to the extent that intensity of use of major routes was indicated, but not of trapping and hunting areas. There, are compiled summer and winter route maps, whereas maps of the individual hunters and trappers are not compiled (Nahanni 1977: 25; pers. comm. M. Asch 1980). The map series produced by the Dene Brotherhood is awaiting publication.

The primary problem of both surveys is that the human social component is absent. From the written and mapped data we do not get a picture of how land-utilizing groups are structured, nor of their relationship to the hunting areas drawn on the maps. In both studies, the accompanying texts are geographical and biological. They describe land activities by either season or by species (Freeman 1976:v.2), but do not specifically detail which groups (or individuals) utilize which lands and where. What is

missing is the demonstration of the social structure at work. This is absolutely necessary in order to under the intricacy and socially specific nature of land resource allocation. Without this form of analysis the logic of how regional social groups are distributed within arctic and sub-arctic societies is reduced to positivistic ecological arguments.

Unless we tie land-use to its social framework, the concept of land tenure is incomplete and correspondingly the land title argument remains weak.

KEY METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF THE KAYAHNA REGION LAND UTILIZATION AND OCCUPANCY STUDY

The nature and form of land control by discrete social units is a precise and well-articulated process in Anishnawbe-²Aski society of North-western Ontario. The apparent flexibility of securing access to lands, upon closer examination, reveals a number of structural principles that define the limits of the flexibility.

Control over lands within the Kayahna group of communities is limited to members of patronymic aggregates resident in each of the seven contemporary communities. Access to land is channelled through the commensal units and prolonged access to land is controlled by each of the patronymic co-residential aggregates sanctioned by the other patronymic units of the communities (Sieciechowicz, 1982).

From the study it is becoming apparent that the nature of land utilization is flexible within certain parameters. The parameters that are described for the seven Kayahna Tribal

Communities are particular to the present day communities of the Kayahna region. However, it is strongly suggested that the forms of land utilization and occupancy found in the Kayahna Tribal Council Region, are to be found in all Anishnawbe-Aski communities and settlements. Furthermore, it is indicated that the four discrete patterns of land utilization first described for the community of Wunnummin Lake have structural antecedents not only prior to the creation of permanent settlements, but also prior to the signing of Treaty and prior to the fur-trade in North-western Ontario.

THE METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEM

The land tenure and occupancy literature of the Northern Algonkians has been, over the last sixty years, quite far-ranging. Interest in the topic essentially began with Speck's (1915a,b) ethnographic departure by describing Indians of Eastern and Northern America as having quite definite claims to their habitat. Davidson (1929), Strong (1929), Flannery (1938), Cooper (1939), Lips (1947) and Easley (1947), have all subsequently added their support to the concept of the aboriginality of the family hunting ground. The concept was opposed by Jenness (1932:124-125), Steward (1936:339), Leacock (1955) and Knight (1965). Stewart synthesized the counter-argument:

"the usual feature of family land ownership bears an intimate functional relationship to the highly specialized economy introduced by the fur trade" (Steward 1936:339).

This present study departs from the lengthy land-tenure

discussion to show that the discussion was, in fact, one dimensional. The question should not have been whether the hunting ground territory is an aboriginal fact or one developing as a result of an incorporation of the fur-trapping economy, but rather from what base of social organizational principles did the historic form of family hunting territory develop?

From the Land Utilization and Occupancy Study analyses it is suggested that Anishnawbe-Aski social organization provides a range of land utilization patterns. One of these is communal hunting land, or the homeland; a second, is patronymic aggregate lands, or patronymic territories; a third, is co-residential unit areas; and a fourth, is individual traplines.

In some communities all four forms are expressed, such as in the Kayahna Tribal Council communities of Wunnummin Lake, Kingfisher Lake, Big Trout Lake, Wapekeka Lake, Long Dog Lake, Kasabonika Lake and Fort Severn. In other communities of Northwestern Ontario the four patterns overlap to the extent that some forms are not evident. In Pekangekum, for example, the homeland is the sum of all the patronymic territories, it is not however, communal hunting territory. Hunting territory and patronymic aggregate territory are synonymous for this community, as are the co-residential territories and household traplines. Another example is Cat Lake, where the homeland around the Lake is reserved for elders' trapping and hunting. This practice is informally adhered to in a few of the Kayahna Tribal Communities as well.

The range of land utilization forms is a well honed structure designed for optimal exploitation of necessary

resources. it is hypothesized that the contraction and expansion of lands controlled by a band does not involve physical movement of groups out of or into an area. If one accepts the premise that all lands are occupied and controlled then it is clear that the contraction or expansion of a band's lands is a social phenomenon. A particular commensal unit or co-residential group may decide not to visit with other band members and keep to its own, or to assume connections with another adjacent band. Associations change and self-emulate but the land controlling groups retain their presence throughout. The consistent element from community to community and through time, is the nature of the minimal land controlling group which remains virtually the same. This remains to be more fully tested. However, from a preliminary analysis of the seven Kayahna Council communities, it appears that though there are differences as to consistently controlled by the same unit: the co-residential unit.

To take this a step further to the discussion on the land tenure problem, the 'built-in' flexibility of Anishnawbe-family hunting territory in its historic form. Asch noted the precise point for the Slavey:

"... the key factor in resisting fundamental change lies in the ability of the society to maintain its traditional social relations of production ... the articulation which the new mode of production amounts ... to the inclusion of a new activity into an old round. Thus among the Slavey, it was possible to participate in the fur-trade without changing internal relations of production." (Asch 1978:2).

The land tenure argument hence has concentrated on a particular cultural transformation rather than on social organizational principles of sub-arctic society.

Despite 450 years of the fur-trade there remains a

great diversity in land tenure forms throughout the sub-arctic, and specifically in the eastern sub-arctic (Leacock 1955; Tanner 1976). This multiplicity problem was deemed to be a result of land tenure systems being at different stages of incorporation into the fur-trapping economy (Leacock 1954). However, is it not more accurate to categorize the situation as precisely the opposite? Are not the differing land tenure systems a reflection of differing stages of incorporation of the fur-trade economy into the traditional economy? To regard the stages as anything else would surely be grossly ethnocentric.

An issue related to the bias of the land tenure question concerns the focus of the greater portion of ethnographies written in the 1950's and 1960's (Leacock 1954; 1955; Honigmann 1958, Knight 1968). All were generally more concerned with studying the results of Euro-Canadian influence, rather than the Indian community itself.

An exception to the ethnographies of the period is the work by R.W. Dunning on Pekangekum. In Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa, Dunning departs from the customary kinship descriptions and resultant superficial analysis of change, in order to analyze sets of social relationships reformulated in the contemporary context. Dunning enumerates the factors of acculturation 'at a distance' for Pekangekum as being, heavy government subsidies and corresponding increases in the supply of consumer and capital goods (1959a:208;163-164). As a result of these factors demographic and residence patterns are reformulated and are shown to be structurally consistent with pre-subsidy forms:

"An increasing freedom from the restrictions of the traditional ecology has permitted a change in demography and residence patterns" (1959a:207).

The astuteness of the observation of acculturation as occurring 'at a distance' (1959a:208) differentiates this work from the above mentioned ethnographies which interpret cultural change as structural change.

Structural change or transformation are not automatic upon contact:

"Hunting economies do not transform, through contact with capitalist institutions, or through acquiring of Western goods.

But rather change comes ... abruptly and specifically at these points where capitalist institutions penetrate the institutional framework traditional to the society and disrupts the process by which these institutions are reproduced" (Asch 1978:4).

Structural change is a question of irreversible interference from non-Indian institutions.

In Northern Ontario, Indian communities remain, culturally and structurally distinct from Euro-Canadian communities south of the 50th parallel. Tanner notes this same point in his work on the Mistassini Cree of Quebec:

"...[the Mistassinil] economy does not exhibit the hypothesized tendency to individualization and...the religion does not exhibit the acceptance of the non-Indian world-view. These two demonstrations alone...suggest that we stop looking at Mistassini as a group in conflict between traditional and modern elements, or between the contrary demands of hunting and trapping and try to understand it as a social form in its own right" (Tanner 1976:8-9).

In addition to this requirement, is a point stressed by Dunning, twenty years earlier. In a passage wherein he argues the inapplicability of marriage exchange theory to the Northern Ojibwa is a plea to study the kinship group as a point of focus

rather than the bilateral system, since a generalization of the principles of the latter yield inaccuracies as to the nature of Northern Ojibwa society (1959a:201).

The analysis of the structure of a society 'in its own right' formed the focus of the study on Shamattawa by Turner and Wertman (1977). In this analysis of social relationships of a northern Manitoba Cree community, Turner defined four principle features of Cree hunter-gatherers which opposed the Australian system:

"The system that 'opposed' this would (1) resolve the question of land-ownership at the connubium rather than at the partri-group level, (2) leave alliance relations within this larger 'band' open to pragmatic as distinct from prescriptive considerations, sacrificing ties outside the 'band' in favour of strengthening ties within, (3) base group recruitment on incorporative and alliance rather than exclusionary and 'decent', principles, and (4) include a 'kinship' system which defined relations between individuals in productive as opposed to proprietary terms." (Turner and Wertman 1977:v).

The questions raised by this work echo throughout the present study. In an effort to define the land-controlling group I suggest that the co-residential unit fulfills this function, and I further suggest that though alliance relations within the homeland seem pragmatic there are sets of restricting considerations. I concur wholly that internal ties are more significant than external homeland ties, but these may be more marked in the contemporary sedentary existence of community life. In Anishnawbe-Aski society principles of incorporation and alliance help structure the production group in, as Turner and Wertman point out, 'kinship' terms. Furthermore, because of participation in production groups, both 'kin' and incorporated 'kin' can acquire proprietary rights.

The emphasis on the internal dynamics of a society cannot responsibly ignore the fact that Indian communities exist within a wider colonial framework. Hence, what is required is a cogent analysis of the extent of external influences together with an analysis of the internal structure of a community. When studying contemporary communities neither can be legitimately overlooked.

A LAND UTILIZATION STUDY FOR NORTH-WESTERN ONTARIO

The Research Problem

In the mid 1970's the threat of land claims to non-treaty areas pressured Indian and Inuit organizations to look for hard data to substantiate their land claims. Mapping of territories utilized and intensity of utilization were two responses to the crisis. Whereas in non-treaty areas the mapping would provide evidence of dependence upon the land and therefore justification for entering into land claims negotiation with Federal and Provincial Governments, the need for mapping in a Treaty area (ceded land) would secure evidence of continuing dependence upon the land and force government recognition of this fact.

Consistently, in Ontario, both levels of government have denied the existence of Indian utilization of all the land north of the 50th parallel. At most, the two levels of Government only concede that Indians live in isolated communities in an underdeveloped area. A Federal Government pilot study of Big Trout Lake states:

"The income pattern is unremarkable, being of the kind we might expect to be associated with depressed or underdeveloped areas under a general welfare state. The importance of statutory Welfare Benefits in providing a stable basis for the settlement's income, the importance of Indian Affairs Branch Relief and wages to offset seasonal cycles (and long-term cycles by implication), and the relative importance of a few steady although (to us) low status occupations, point up the extent to which, in income terms at least, the native subsistence base has become less relevant to the economic life of the settlement.

The introduction of casual wage-work and commercial fishing eliminate the need for some relief payments, but do not provide any significant portion of income. As we shall see, they probably never will, and will continue to be what they are today -- substitutes for relief. Trapping is widely practised, but provides little income except for a few people. Most young men probably trap to earn some money, without any firm promise of a career" (Canada 1964:85).

Through twenty pages of figures, tables and statistics describing the income of Big Trout Lake, land income is chronically underestimated. Every figure was used to depict what the Government wanted to know: that the area was underdeveloped and economically disadvantaged due to a lack of economic opportunities. Instead of supporting the indigenous economy (of which trapping and commercial fishing are not substitutes for relief), the Government's answer was to encourage multi-national corporations to think of the resource potentials of North-western Ontario.

In very quick succession over a dozen years resource exploitation plans were put forward. The hydro and fresh water potentials of the Severn, Winisk, Attawapiskat and Albany Rivers were analyzed (by U.S. Army Corps Engineers). Reed Pulp and Paper was granted an 18,983 sq. mi. cutting area in the heart of North-western Ontario. Due to the public outcry over the deplorable reforestation practices of the forest industry, the

proposed clear-cutting methods to be used, and questionable granting of the license to Reed Pulp and Paper, this project was temporarily shelved. The Polar Gas Pipeline will connect with the Trans Canada Pipeline and 500 miles of the pipeline will be laid in North-western Ontario.

Ontario Hydro proposed strip mining of lignite deposits at Onakawana to feed a thermal generator for the Ontario Hydro power grid.

Uranium exploration was begun to the northeast of the Kiyahna Region at Hawley Lake.

Union Miniere opened a base metals mine in 1976 north of Osnaburgh House, and Steeprock Mines Ltd. was interested in the iron-ore potential south of Osnaburgh House (C.A.S.N.P. 1977).

The flurry of proposed projects since the mid 1960's has spurred bitter jokes about how the government intends to clear the north of trees, then mine the land for its resources, and finally flood it over to cover their tracks (G. McKay, Big Trout Lake).

This situation, where resource exploitation planning is carried out independently of Indian involvement and knowledge, meant for the Treaty No. 9 people that their requests for involvement in planning went unheard by even lowly government officials. The only choice was, and is, to demonstrate traditional and non-traditional utilization of land, and concomitantly to demonstrate economic (traditional and non-traditional) planning from the Indian perspective. The first requirement therefore was to document what land was used, when it was used, how, and by whom. This constituted the ethnographic

research problem. The data collected for planning purposes had to have a precise social reality and be in a form that would be both visual and descriptive. Composite community land utilization maps and an accompanying report on patterns of land utilization and occupancy form the ethnographic data base.

The land utilization and occupancy project of Grand Council Treaty No. 9, and, since 1978 of the Kayahna Tribal Council was financially aided by the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. Funding of the Kayahna Region projects has been both meager and unreliable. Funding arrived late in the Commissions' span of operation, as the Commission initially did not view Indian planning projects as legitimately on a par with planning by the Ministry of Natural Resources, and it's West Patricia Land-Use Plan. It was only after two years of fierce lobbying that the Kayahna Tribal Council's proposals were finally (though minimally) funded.

The Land Utilization and Occupancy Study:
The Initial Stages-----

In 1975, the Reed Pulp and Paper issue exploded. The Provincial Government was intransigent about withdrawing the timber license. Five Indian communities located within the clear-cutting area -- Osnaburgh, Pekangekum, Cat Lake, McDowell Lake and Slate Falls -- as well as ten others on the periphery of the area were seriously threatened by the foreseeable drastic consequences of the proposed timber cutting license.

In the spring of 1974, Dr. Wm. Dunning had introduced

me to the President of Treaty No. 9, Andrew Rickard. Upon completing a short research proposal for Treaty No. 9, I had the opportunity to visit the Dene Brotherhood and learned about their mapping project. I was also in touch with Drs. M. Freeman and P. Usher of the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study, M. Weinstein of the Fort George Study and H. Feit who was working on the James Bay Cree McGill Project. By the summer of 1975, I knew the basic parameters of how to map and record basic land utilization information. The methodology of interviewing and mapping was however to be drastically altered and refined upon beginning fieldwork in the Kayahna Tribal Council Area.

The Project originated as a summer student project. I and one fieldworker were to work for only one summer, in one community and write one short report. Mapping of any traditional activities, with any accuracy and time depth is very time consuming. I also found that if we took care to carefully record all the data we received, more people took the work seriously and offered to be interviewed.

For the first year and a half of data collection, people (myself included) found that we were so immersed in the detail of the project - in the how many, where and how aspects of the project - that it was quite difficult to comprehend the longer and wider range utility of the project.

The very first community from which I collected the map biographies was Wunnummin Lake, one of the communities to be affected by the proposed timber license, Polar Gas Pipeline and Hydro development. The choice of Wunnummin Lake as an initial fieldwork site was suggested by a Big Trout Lake Band

fieldworker, Chris Cromarty. He introduced me to the Head Councillor, John Bighead, arranged for an introductory community meeting, translated and helped find fieldworkers.

By the spring of 1976, three more communities asked to have the land-use project come to map their land utilization. By 1978 many of the other Kayahna and Pehdahbin communities adopted our mapping format, and independently mapped their own communities' land utilization. By 1980, a total of fourteen communities had been mapped --

1. Wunnummin Lake 1975-1976
2. Kingfisher Lake, 1975
3. Osnaburgh House 1975-1976-1977
4. Fraserdale 1977
5. Pekangekum 1977-1978
6. Cat Lake 1976-1978
7. Slate Falls 1978
8. McDowell Lake 1978
9. N. Spirit Lake 1978
10. Big Trout Lake 1978
11. Kasabonika 1979
12. Long Dog Lake 1979
13. Angling Lake 1979
14. Fort Severn 1979-1981

All the northern Treaty No. 9 communities have been mapped, or one third of 45 communities of the Treaty No. 9 area. An additional nine communities are only partially completed, due to lack of funding.

The singular advantage of the uniform mapping system is that a comparative base can be achieved, and, eventually we can compile regional maps and analyses.

Data Collection

There were two related methodological problems which I wished to test. The primary concern was whether or not there was

sufficient present land utilization to map. All of the previous studies of Northwestern Ontario (Dunning 1959; Rogers 1962; Honigman 1962) stressed the degree of acculturation present in the communities, and the demise of a dependency upon a land-based economy.

However, it became apparent to me, that perhaps one could not only record contemporary land utilization, but also (and this was supported by the land-use studies from other parts of the sub-arctic) that it constituted perhaps a more significant part of the total community organization than had been previously indicated.

The second concern was whether or not the areas used in 1975-1976 had any relationship to those areas used ten, twenty, thirty or even fifty years ago. If not, why not? Thus, how was land utilization organized? Was land utilization perhaps based upon an allotment system, as was the case in the eastern James Bay region? (Leacock 1954; Tanner 1976)

Or alternatively, if the areas used were to be found to be consistent through time, how did this occur? The questions to be answered therein would be: how was access to land areas controlled, and furthermore, by which groups? To answer these questions data was collected in four separate forms.

The first and major part of the work was the mapping of the full extent of a person's land-use activities over his/her lifetime. Each activity was marked separately on the same map. The activities singled out for mapping were trapping, hunting, fishing, fowling, wild-rice harvesting and berrying. All the activities, on a single map per individual, thus comprised a

chronological picture of an individual's land-use. Each map is in effect a map biography.

In addition to the geographical areas utilized, information on the location of hunting, fishing and trapping camps; cabins, moss lodges and tent sites; trails (skidoo, dog-team, snowshoe) and canoe routes were collected and recorded on the maps. Camps were all named; wherever possible, as were the more frequently used lakes and rivers. This data constituted the occupancy aspect of the survey.

Paired with the map work was the questionnaire. The questionnaire was used basically to guide the progression of the interview. It was used to record all the pertinent quantitative data in support of the map data, eg. a person's name, place of birth, sequential places of residence, marital status, age, band affiliation, etc. Also recorded in the questionnaire was information on each land activity, eg. the species caught for each time period of each activity, persons with whom each activity was carried out, their relationship to ego, and the names of the camps, sites and routes.

A portion of the information received was very specific in nature and to some extent unanticipated in the questionnaire. This information was included in the notes. An example of this type of information would be: the making of a moose snare; movement of a particular species; incidents relating to the land; hunting accounts; and the working out of trapping and hunting irregularities.

The last part of the interviews was taped. This was the third form in which data was collected. On completion of the

mapping, each person was asked about their reflections on their use of land. The specific questions related to a definition of control and ownership of land, jural and customary rights in land and the extent and perception of communal hunting lands as distinct from other hunting lands.

The collecting of genealogies and terms of relationship constituted the fourth part of fieldwork. The core of the genealogies and terminology was collected from key individuals in the communities. These were elaborated upon (particularly in terms of genealogical depth and range of terminological contexts) in each subsequent mapping interview.

The interviews were with either male or female household heads and were treated as household interviews. Thus, the involvement on the land of spouses, or of commensally resident matri- or patri-laterals was marked on the same map, though in most instances they would have separate questionnaires.

Given our very specific methodological considerations the study required that we obtain the maximal number of interviews in each and every community. In other words, we were not interested in obtaining a random sample of land utilization practices. Our questions of how, why and with whom people organized themselves for the purposes of obtaining goods from the land would not be answered by the random sample method. Our first practical objective was thus to collect map biographies from all households. In six instances we came very close to the full sample and in one community (Fort Severn) we obtained the full complement of map biographies.

In the communities where we did not collect the full

set of biographies our concern was to obtain biographies that would cover all the lands which were perceived by community members as being part of the community's heartland. Once we had all the critical lands covered we were able to "fill-in" with the land practices of those trappers and hunters whose activities gave us the intensity of utilization and diversity of forms specific and peculiar to that community. In all our studies the critical lands were covered, and missing household biographies tend to belong to peripheral individuals who were either absent from the community visiting, or who were ill, or who were actively away on the land. There were a few instances of individuals who did not wish to be interviewed. In all 'missing' instances we were aware of the range of the land activities by the constant cross-referencing that occurs by other members in the communities. What we required was as complete a picture of all activities and relationships in order to arrive at how the community or settlement worked its internal relationships and land utilization. These could then be contrasted or compared within the community and of course between communities.

Mapping

The greater part of the data collected was recorded on maps. One of my initial concerns was whether adults, particularly in their 50's and 60's would be able to follow the markings on maps. As it turned out, people were very familiar with maps, as they had been required by the Ministry of Lands and Forests to draw out their traditional trapping grounds for the purpose of trapline registration, as early as 1949. Some

individuals lamented the lack of detail on the maps we were using, so we changed the scale of maps from 1:500,000 to 1:250,000. Others felt that small lakes, bends in rivers, particular rapids and outcroppings of higher ground were not shown. Some noted how poorly certain features were marked. Yet others asked why lakes had English names when only Indians used them. A few were not able to read the maps because of poor eyesight. Most people enjoyed following the one dimensional representation of rivers and creeks, which were so familiar to them. The use of maps in the study project added a concrete element to an involved and occasionally hypothetical study.

Adults are not only familiar with reading maps but are also in the habit of drawing line maps in the sand for one another. The practice may have an extensive history and pre-history. Considering the pre-historic trade networks and the extensive movements of groups, prior knowledge of major rivers and lakes, heights of land and plains would be logically necessary, and maps the obvious medium for conveying the information.

"Own" Territory and "Other" Territory

In the process of identifying lands utilized on the maps, every once in a while an individual would indicate that he had visited up-river from his territory, or west of his territory "to see what was there" or "to see what it was like". In all the instances, the individuals would be very specific that they had not trapped, nor hunted nor fished there, were aware that the land belonged to someone else, and were aware to whom the land

belonged, but were also aware that the land had not been used for two or three years. This provided the motivation for "visiting" the territory, for it may be open to others to use. Exploration is thus important in the extension of trapping and hunting grounds. Logically, the combination of exploration and information exchange facilitated the extensive group movements in pre-historic and early historic times. Together, they would have afforded the groups a modicum of certainty and security which is more reasonable to expect rather than the romantic wandering noted in the literature.

Accuracy of Mapping

In the actual mapping, interviewees were encouraged to draw right on the map. We felt this would minimize problems of accuracy and interpretation. Characteristically, most individuals were reticent to mark up a pristine map, but once we had marked up a fair portion of the map, the interviewee would prefer to do his/her own drawing. In all cases people were careful in their outlines of trapping areas and hunting areas to the extent that they would outline the inside limits of territory utilized, rather than infringe on another's territory by outlining the maximal extent of territory utilized. People were conservative in what they drew out to preserve peace in the community, out of quiet humility, and in most other cases as a result of simply forgetting peripheral utilization of land, or utilizations perhaps a month or two in duration that had occurred only once or twice.

Accuracy was an initial concern, but as conservatism and honesty in documentation become apparent, the question of accuracy changed forms. The heart or core of every territory was indisputable, but the boundary of the total territory could and did change. Recollection was a question of memory and relative importance of the utilization of an area. A young man who had only begun to trap independently of his parents in the last two or three years could be very specific about where he had gone, whereas an individual who had trapped for 35 years would recall the general extent of territory utilized as the utilized areas were not necessarily the same each year.

People had a very clear notion of the extent of their territory within a mile or two. Animals move and correspondingly boundaries fluctuate. In the compilation of the maps, trapping territories overlap regularly. The overlap is a result of compiling the utilized territories over a period of time. If we were to take two adjacent trapping territories utilized in the same season, we would find little if any overlap. The territories would adjoin at lakes and several creeks. The overlap if any would be due to visiting between the two trappers rather than independent activity within each others' territory in that season. Over a period of years two prime factors account for the overlap. First of all, many trapped species are mobile over extensive areas of land, especially the larger trapped species of fox or lynx. Should a trapper spend a day or two tracking a lynx, he would not give up snaring the animal simply because the lynx crossed into another's trapping territory. Secondly, trappers using the peripheral areas of their territories often

visit each other's camps and may trap together for a few days within the bounds of each other's areas. In this sense boundaries are relative and approximate. Little purpose is served by their being very precise, given the nature of trapping and trapping relations. The overlap in trapping territories is not as great as that found in hunting areas. Hunting territories overlap greatly as game tends to be found in localized areas (near burnt-out stands, lake edges) and in the hunt will range far. Fishing areas within the territories are essentially exclusively utilized by specific patronymic groups.

All major lakes are heavily utilized as are the major rivers and tributaries. Individuals often marked specific locations on the lakes or rivers that their commensal unit consistently used. Specific locations were chosen to fish particular species such as lake trout, or sturgeon. Thus, specific spots were favoured by each fishing family. There may be a territorial aspect in the fishing locations used, though this was neither stated nor noted in the interviews nor does this aspect develop once the maps are compiled. In order to attain a notion of fishing territoriality a finer set of criteria would have to be used as well as larger scale maps.

Summary of the methodology and mapping process

The communities of Anishnawbe-Aski did not and do not operate in isolation from one another. Each grouping, from the smallest, such as Long Dog Lake with five households, to one of the larger communities such as Big Trout Lake with over one hundred households, is in constant communication with its

neighbouring communities. This means that people move from settlement to settlement on the basis of kinship and workability of trapping or hunting arrangements. Some communities are very rigid in their acceptance of members from other communities and this is reflected in the rigidity of their land arrangements; on the other hand there are many communities which for diverse reasons are not as rigid and this too is reflected in their land utilization patterns. The types of land patterns to be found are parts of continua and can be grouped into a Kayahna Region type, a Berens River type and a Coastal type. The types of land utilization and occupancy forms to be found in North-western Ontario are not isolated in either time or space. The patterns have a clearly definable pre-contact, and historical and spatial continuity, as the Anishnawbe-Aski did not restrict themselves to living within the confines of Ontario. Therefore the continua may be found to have territorial antecedents and to stretch into Quebec, Manitoba and further beyond as well. Nor were the types of land utilization patterns developed by the Anishnawbe-Aski in answer to organizational problems specific to them alone. The land utilization patterns of the Kayahna region communities form a model of predictive forms of a range available to the Anishnawbe-Aski, and by extension to sub-arctic peoples generally.

Reading the Maps

The individual maps are interesting records of each individual's activities, however, the logic of why and how lands are utilized and occupied is only achieved once these individual

map biographies are aggregated.

The first communities to be mapped were Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher land, and for these two communities I selected sets of compilations which I hoped would accentuate and make understandable the events that were taking place in the communities from 1920 to 1975. The first requirement of compilation was to show the different uses of the land resulting from the different activities, such as trapping, hunting, fishing, fowling and so on. The second requirement was to breakdown the fifty year period into smaller units to show either consistency or differentiation in utilization through time. The compilation of mapping activities was carried out by the Cartography section of the Geography Department at the University of Toronto, under the supervision of Geoffrey Matthews.

Critical dates -- Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake

In the recent history of the two communities - that is, during the mapping period covered- there are three critical dates: the first is the date of the signing of the treaty adhesion in the North-west of Ontario in 1929-1930. In this year the Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake people were designated as belonging to the Big Trout Lake Band and this was deemed to be their home base. Though treaties were signed in an attempt to remove or separate the people from their territories, the peoples continued to live on the land as they had done formerly. The signing of the Treaty Adhesion neither affected their land utilization nor their domestic activity on the land. In some instances it meant that people now travelled to Big Trout Lake on

the anniversary of the treaty signing to collect their treaty annuity payment, and at the same time to pick up supplies from the Hudson Bay Company store, but effectively no other land utilization pattern was dislodged or supplanted by this visiting to Big Trout Lake in the summer. In many peoples' activities a visit to Big Trout Lake was the established norm as it was, for others, it meant an accommodation either on a yearly or infrequent basis. Effectively, no change in year-round land utilization was perceived on the land utilization and occupancy maps. Therefore, though this date was and continues to be important in that it affected the future direction of the North-western peoples' lives and initiated their interaction with the Canadian Government, operations on the land were not immediately affected by this event.

The second date is the year that trapline registration was instituted by the Provincial Department of Lands and Forests, requiring Indians to record the location of their trapping areas on maps and to purchase trapping licenses.

Eleazor Beardy from Muskrat Dam recounted how after the signing of the treaty there were problems with respect to livelihood caused by government rules and regulations:

"There were a few problems, for example; in later treaty days, we were prohibited from hunting certain animals. At one time, there was a closed season for five years for trapping beaver. The fur-bearing animals could be hunted from October to February. As a result, there were hardships...as this was previous to the family allowances, and welfare."
(Eleazor Beardy, speaking to Billy Sainnawap p.5 April 10, 1974)

*

George Duncan from Long Dog Lake told the interviewer that:

"I was about 16 years old when M.N.R. (sic) issued these quotas, allowing only ten (10) beavers for each trapper. It wasn't enough for a person to live on, especially those with wives and children."

(George Duncan speaking to Bill Morris, p.1 Winter 1980)

Other rules were introduced by M.N.R. to do with the purchase of licences, the use of steel traps rather than snares, and restrictions on the number of beaver to be taken per lodge. Simon Brown on Angling Lake recalls:

"I was sixteen years of age when I started trapping and I had to acquire a licence which cost five dollars in order for me to sell whatever pelts I trapped. This was one of the regulations, having to purchase a five dollar trapping licence. Eventually, this regulation was changed but the five dollar licence existed over a long period of time, to be subsequently reduced to one dollar per trapper. Another rule implemented was to ban the use of snares and only traps were allowed. This was one rule the M.N.R. (sic) introduced that made life difficult. The traps were too bulky and heavy to be carried around, but the trapper had to carry them. Ski-doo's were nonexistent in those days. The load carried by the trapper was cumbersome, along with his food supply, blankets and any necessary equipment. This was one rule that contributed to the toil of the native people. The problem of having to carry these traps was alleviated when snares were permitted as they are light and easy to carry. Again, I stress that this law created problems for the native people. Also, another law used was the quota system. I was limited to ten beavers and sometimes even fifteen. They sometimes caused the pelts to have no value. Another law was to take a certain number of beavers per lodge (beaver house) i.e. one beaver for each lodge."

(Simon Brown interviewed by Bill Morris, p.2 n.d.)

People abided by the regulations out of a fear of what would happen if they did not comply with the provincial regulations. The principal fear was to be forbidden to use their own territories or even worse to be removed from their lands. This would mean certain starvation for their families.

Philip McKay from Big Trout Lake said that "If any trapper went over the limit they had to go to court." (Philip

McKay, interviewed by Mike McKay and Paul Fox p.2, Sept. 25, 1980).

George McKay in an interview expanded upon a particular problem he experienced:

"M.N.R. (sic) brought out trapping regulations with severe consequences for native trappers...One...time, during our late winter trapping season and as spring arrived, I saw a plane approaching from the horizon. I was not expecting any planes so I did not know who they were. Out of this plane two men stepped off. They did not have any identification badges or anything. They said that the Hudson's Bay manager had said that George McKay and Jeremiah Sainnawap were here. I then replied that we were indeed here. Then these two men ran up to our tents and started rummaging all over the place. It looked as if a catastrophe had occurred. It looked as if a wild pack of wolves had invaded our tent. At that time, I had trapped sixteen (16) beaver and these were taken away by these men. These same incidents occurred elsewhere in our area. Limits to the number of beaver per person was enforced. These men said to me that they did not come to arrest me, but to seize my furs. So my furs were seized that year. This made me feel very bad as I had put a lot of effort into the season's trapping. My partner, old Jeremiah, was taken and flown to the plane's destination, arrested, and locked up for six hours. The charge for our arrest amounted to forty-seven dollars which we had to pay. That is all I will talk concerning this. Definitely, the government's regulations were not properly explained to the public. We had no knowledge of them, and they were not for the betterment of the native people. It has affected our lives."

(George McKay, interviewed by Mike McKay p.2 n.d.)

The registration of trapping areas forced membership within the registered area to become absolute, no longer was movement fluid. Moses Mosquito noted that when the Department of Lands and Forests

"...set-up trapline areas for the native people...many of the people started to dislike each other. It seems that they (M.N.R.) violated the peoples' rights and caused them to fight amongst each other as a result of this division of areas."

(Moses Mosquito, interviewed by Mike McKay p.4 Sept. 15, 1980)

Many of the trappers we interviewed asked why should they pay for licences. Philip McKay:

"I read the part where God created man and earth with everything in it. He did not ask man to purchase any licences to hunt or trap. He gave to man the world to live on. The white man is the first to start the licensing system. We are forced by law to have licences in order to hunt and trap. This is where white man breaks God's law because God gave man the right to hunt."

(Philip McKay, interviewed by Mike McKay and Paul Fox, p.1, September 25, 1980)

George Duncan voiced a similar objection to the licences:

"When native people were first put on this earth, there was no regulation that said they had to have a licence. God created this earth and its resources for all the people and he didn't say that we had to have a licence to use it. He created this earth and gave it freely for those who wanted to use it for a good purpose; therefore, we don't have to have a licence to live off the land."

(George Duncan, interviewed by Bill Morris, p.2 Winter 1980)

Eleazor Beardy noted that:

"The laws that govern the Indian people with respect to their trapping...were very strict. Those Commissioners (of the Treaty) were determined to enforce the laws of the government, but they were not so determined to fulfill their rosy promises, whereby their materialization would have benefited the Indian people immensely."

(Eleazor Beardy, interviewed by Billy Sainnawap p.4, April 10, 1974)

It was anticipated that trapline registration would effect changes in the existing land tenure system, as it implants an external-and immovable-boundary notion on the existing pattern of land utilization. The confined aspect of land utilization was felt by the hunters and trappers, however, the area utilized over the years from 1947-1949 to the present do not reflect containment. Thus, the registration of traplines did not affect

in the longer run the overall pattern of land utilization.

The years 1947 to 1949 are also the years during which many governmental services are extended to the northern areas, such as transfer payments, Old Age Pension, and Family Allowance. In addition to these services, the construction of schools, an improved medical facility, the presence of a mission station and Hudson Bay Company store all on the reserve of Post Island, encouraged many to reside for at least part of the year in the community of Big Trout Lake. Many who came to reside at Big Trout Lake were from territories several hundred miles distant. This distance came to cause quite an economic hardship for these groups. Concomitant with the economic hardship was the fact that the reserve was over-crowded with peoples from both 'connected' and politically opposed groups, this lead to very difficult interpersonal relations in every day life on the reserve.

With time the coercive aspect of remaining on the reserve diminished, and more and more groups began to evaluate the possibilities of re-settling sites nearer their homelands. Effectively this had a fourfold positive result.

Firstly, for the groups leaving Big Trout Lake, the creation of new settlements meant closer and more secure access to their trapping and hunting lands. Closer access to home territories meant an improved food supply; it also meant that trapping trips could be shorter so that families could stay in the new community for the sake of childrens' schooling and just the men could leave for lengths of time not too disruptive to the routine of family life. A long term result of the move back to homelands was that it became possible to consider the land

economy as a viable one, and one in which to encourage youth to take part.

Secondly, with the establishment of small communities, social control became once more effective in directing and controlling the actions and interests of youth. At the same time more youth saw traditional land activities on, at the very least, life in the north as a preferable alternative to migration south. During the period of the late 1970's many well educated youth (both male and female) found it important to return home and to blend the learning and appreciation of land skills with work in administering the band.

Thirdly, both within Big Trout Lake and within the other newly created settlements a modicum of political equilibrium was once more re-established. Factionalism and strongly aligned views are a characteristic of northern community politics. With the fissioning of the larger settlement into several smaller ones, the remaining groups have a traditionally structured opposition which is not without resolution from issue to issue. Formerly, there were just too many opposing groups with hardly any means of compromise and more significantly without any desire for compromise. In the present situation opposition is to be expected but the nature of the factions is premised on a commitment to the community, and thus an eventual resolution of difficult situations.

Fourthly, the crowding on Post Island lessened, of course, and this coincided with a marked de-centralization of residential arrangements on the island as well. With a clear recognition of what the other groupings were doing, that is,

returning closer to their homelands out of consideration for economic improvement and re-establishment of stability in political and family life. The same factors seem to have operated in the decentralization within the community of Big Trout Lake. Over one-half of the households moved to the mainland.

Given the original twenty years of association, many important connections had been forged between individuals of formerly distant groups, through marriages, trapping partnerships and friendships. These connections were to surface within a few years in an attempt to re-structure the economic organization of the communities into the Kayahna Tribal Council.

The third date of importance to the two communities of Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake is 1964. This date is of significance only to these two communities. This is the year in which the new communities were created. If we were to look at the trapping and hunting activities of Long Dog Lake, a similarly important date would be the years 1975-1978, when three extended families moved from Big Trout Lake and Kasabonika to Long Dog Lake. Kasabonika had always been a functioning populated community in its own right, though a number of households from Kasabonika had moved to Big Trout Lake with the signing of the treaty, and who later moved back to Kasabonika or to Wapekeka Lake (Angling Lake), depending upon kinship connections.

What is noticeable for Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake is that once the new communities were created the intensity of particularly trapping and hunting within the homeland of the two communities increased and at the same time, the utilizing households' utilization of lands elsewhere (Big Trout Lake)

decreased. The decrease is in fact dramatic. The utilization of lands beyond the Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake homelands is carried out on a most sporadic basis for not more than five years and rarely for every one of those five years. The reason for utilization of these lands is because of past associations which have been carried into the present for reasons of amicability or kinship, but it would appear that these do not have a viability in the long run.

Critical dates -- Conclusions

Three dates were chosen for the communities of Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake as important in establishing differences in land utilization and occupancy through time. However, it was clear that for different reasons these dates had little significance in the long run of land utilization and occupancy.

Whereas the treaty signing dates had little direct influence on the mode of land use activity, I had thought that the registration of trapping grounds and resettlement would have an influence noticeable on the maps. Furthermore, it was expected that there might have occurred a cumulative effect resulting from all three events. As was noted above, the signing of the treaty was a political action intended by the government to remove land from Indian holding but did not alter Indian form and pattern of land utilization. Shortly thereafter, the reserves were drawn up in some cases where trading posts had been formerly established, such as at Big Trout Lake, and in other instances where there were already concentrations of summer and

winter groupings such as at Kasabonika, and Wunnummin Lake. (The latter reserve site was not inhabited after its creation and the present community is not located on the reserve site.) Given the centrality of Big Trout Lake and the presence of amenities there, the Wunnummin Lake, Kingfisher Lake, Long Dog Lake Wapekeka Lake and to a more limited extent Kasabonika Lake patronymic groups, made Big Trout Lake their 'base'. 'Residence' on this reserve meant that families had a cabin located on the reserve which they visited at the end of the summer, around Christmas, and after spring trapping. Residence on the reserve was intermittent. Permanency of occupation came later in the 1960's. It appears from the maps that even a more permanent occupation in Big Trout Lake did not affect the seasonal round of activities of active trappers and hunters. The hardships of transportation and separation of trappers from their families did increase and this was ultimately one set of reasons for the creation of the new satellite communities.

What is discernible from the maps for the period prior to the fissioning of the larger community, is that active trappers and hunters utilized a multitude of territories. In fact, they utilized more than their parents have recorded as using during an earlier period and more than later generations have recorded as well. They also utilized more land when resident at Big Trout Lake than when they moved back to their homelands. There is probably no clearer evidence of the hardships imposed on trappers when not resident close to their own patronymic territories.

When distance precluded consistent use of homelands,

trappers and hunters used their kinship affiliations, affinal connections and friendships to create rights to land utilization within the territories around Big Trout Lake. The outcome was that these individuals utilized four or five distinctly different territories around the reserve upon being invited into these areas. These trappers and hunters were not able to utilize these lands either alone or on a yearly basis and this is most evident from the cumulative evidence on the maps. Wunnummin Lake individuals have utilized territories which stretch far beyond the boundaries of Wunnummin Lake and which extend to the limits of the Big Trout Lake homeland. (See the Wunnummin Lake Land Utilization map). For the Wunnummin Lake patronymic groups resident at Big Trout Lake, land utilization is notably irregular and widespread. Once these same trappers and hunters resumed full activity in their own homeland, mobility across wide areas of land decreased - for all trappers not just for the elders - and they in turn begin to invite (for at least the first few years) co-trappers (affines, distant kinsmen and friends) from Big Trout Lake in a reciprocal and similar manner to that which they themselves had experienced in Big Trout Lake.

Despite the changes of utilization and occupancy patterns before and after 1964, the former pattern had been an artificially created one and this was most evident on the maps. As our data reaches back in several instances to the 1920's, lands around Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake had been utilized in a similar fashion to that which we were recording for the late 1960's and 1970's. Thus, I was drawn to make the conclusion that though the date of creation of the community seemed to be

significant, the overall picture over fifty years was of a continuity of land utilization along traditional lines and the maintenance of occupancy within a range of forms. In other words, the shift to Big Trout Lake and then back to the homelands was an internal correction of residential arrangements made possible given the flexibility of and manoeuvrability within the land tenure and utilization system. Thus, in the long term view of land utilization, very little had changed though the changes in utilization were most instructive of the elasticity within the tenure system. The process of correction, and how it was done is very important to an understanding of the internal dynamics of indigenous society, but for the overall purposes of mapping (noting funding restrictions) we had to conclude that the stability of land utilization was more significant than the changes within utilization. Within the fifty year span, very little had indeed changed. Given this conclusion, it was deemed not necessary to insist upon critical dates of utilization for the other Kiyahna Tribal Council Communities, especially since all of the other communities, except for Long Dog Lake, were not newly established communities.

In addition, several of the critical changes in land utilization and occupancy that one can observe can be and are attributable to other factors such as demographic changes or kinship re-alignments within the population rather than external political circumstances or imposed residential arrangements.

It should also be noted that the sample for some of the communities becomes too diluted and misleading with a division of the maps according to critical dates. Three or four maps at most

may make up a pre-1948 land utilization. This is not at all representative of a community's efforts in those years, and represents only the activities of four persons not those of an entire community. The further back we go with the data, the smaller our data base. Thus, for these and the above reasons the other five community map sets are compiled as units covering a full fifty to fifty-six years. This increases the reading and reliability of the analysis of events taking place upon the land and what these events signify.

Reading the Maps - Wunnummin Lake

For Wunnummin Lake, ten separate sets of maps were compiled as was explained above. Trapping, hunting and fishing activities were separated into two sets of dates. Trapping dates are from 1925 to 1948 and 1949 to 1975. The hunting and fishing dates are from 1925 to 1965 and 1966 to 1975. There are single maps for the fowling activity, the overall land utilization, summer routes and winter routes.

For the years 1925 to 1948 approximately one-third of the Wunnummin Lake households had utilized lands in the early period. The early maps for are therefore a good indication of the breadth and location of activities rather than an indication of all lands utilized and the concentration of families within particular territories. On these and all the other early period maps the low intensity of utilization should be understood as only a part representation of the full range of activities that had in all probability taken place had we collected land utilization and

occupancy maps in the 1920's.

Trapping_Intensity_1925-1948

There are a number of immediately noticeable features of this map. First of all there is a marked east-west orientation which is not tied to the orientation of rivers. Trapping requires a cross-section of river, creek, marsh and upland, these maps reflect the patch-types required for the range of animals trapped.

The rivers in Northwestern Ontario flow from south-west to north-east, thus it is easier to travel and maintain social connections in the direction of the flow of rivers, however, the lateral orientation of trapping territories gives trappers access to the greatest diversification of patches possible in the area. Portaging thus plays an important part in the utilization of diverse patches within a single territory. It is not unusual to have five or more portages within a single territory and which are used on a regular basis. The difficulties of portaging are offset by the economic advantages of having access to diversified ecological niches.

A second feature of the trapping activity is the strong northerly direction of trapping towards Big Trout Lake and beyond this community as well. This trapping orientation reflects the historical connection to the patronymic groups based at Big Trout Lake, and, the later convergence of many of the Wunnummin Lake patronymic groups to the reserve site for a portion of the year.

The activities north of Big Trout Lake belong to a single trapper .pa who had extensive land utilizing networks enabling him to co-utilize Big Trout Lake, Wapekea Lake and Long Dog Lake lands. His utilization of these lands continues after

1948. (See Trapping Intensity 1949-1975).

A third feature is that the pre-treaty (and pre-depression) meeting place of the Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake peoples had been at Big Beaver House, which is noted as a settlement on the map. This site has been abandoned. From mythology we know that the depression had created serious deprivation for the peoples around Big Beaver House, and in mythological terms the Windigo had come to Big Beaver House. People from this community dispersed, many came to live in Big Trout Lake. After 1964, two new communities were created by the populations that had formerly come to meet at a single site. The old site of Big Beaver House is now just beginning to be re-used and hypothetically may become the third settlement in the area within a few years.

The small area of concentration near Maria Lake is caused by the overlap in utilization of a number of Wunnummin Lake families formerly from Big Beaver House. If we were to look at the Kingfisher Lake map (1925-1948) we would see that the Maria Lake area is heavily utilized by the Kingfisher Lake people in this time period.

The trapping grounds directly south of Wunnummin Lake are the traditional patronymic lands of a number of principal and heavily intermarried Wunnummin Lake families: Sturgeon, Bighead, Martin and McKay. The overlap on the maps (the higher concentrations) indicates that the families co-trap extensively, rather than indicate overlapping utilization in any one season.

The small area of concentration north of Lafferty Creek is within the Mamakwa patronymic territory where in this time

there were several brothers utilizing adjacent territories and overlapped in this particular spot.

The northerly concentration near Long Dog Lake indicates the co-operative trapping of a number of Gliddy households with those of a patronymic group now principally resident in Long Dog Lake, the Frogg patronym.

Yet another feature reflected on the early Wunnummin Lake trapping map is the inte-rconnectedness of trapping families within the community of Wunnummin Lake and to families in other communities. This pattern of inter-connectedness is repeated in all the Kayahna communities with local variations. It is for this reason impossible, it is in fact erroneous, to try and establish boundaries for the homelands of each settlement. For example, as people marry and for a time move to an adjoining affinal territory, they may continue to utilize their own lands. It is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether an individual whose patronymic lands are to the west of Wunnummin Lake and who on occasion traps there with his kinsmen from Wunnummin Lake and on other occasions traps with those from Kingfisher Lake, should be said to have his lands in the one community or in the other. These lands will appear on both sets of community maps as being utilized by individuals from each of the communities. Furthermore, this same individual may now be living in Wunnummin Lake but with time he may move to Big Beaver House and thus these lands would be 'lost' to Wunnummin Lake, though he no doubt would continue to draw his partners from Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake. Thus if maps were to be drawn at a future date their lands would then be shown as being

utilized by people from each of the three communities.

The utilization of these lands would then appear on three sets of community maps. Indeed this is often the case. The fact that lands can be said to belong to a principal patronymic group (primary group) does not mean that they are excluded from the use of other groups (secondary or tertiary rights). Each territory is important in its availability to related kinsmen and affines.

The trapping cycle as it is practiced in the North-west of Ontario, necessitates that one's own lands are rested every three to four years somewhat on a cyclical pattern. In the 'off' years the trapper seeks to trap with his partners on their lands. The cyclical pattern of trapping is thus integral to an effective utilization of land. To establish boundaries is to impose artificial constraints in contexts where they do not exist, should not exist, and if they were to be established they would impose great material and economic hardship upon trappers and their families. The flexibility of land utilization is an asset and the freedom of movement should be recognized as a prerequisite for successful and optimal land utilization.

The following review of all the maps produced thus far for the Kayahna Tribal Council reflect patterns of utilization particular to each community, but at the same time conforming to a system of utilization and occupancy understandable and transferable from one community to the next.

Trapping Intensity 1949-1975

Many of the features of the earlier map are present on this one as well. The strong east-west orientation and the northern emphasis are still in evidence. The greatest concentration of use is around the entire lake as now the activities are no longer dissipated by residence in Big Trout Lake nor by activities with residents of that community.

The area of greatest intensity of use is to the south and south-east of Wunnummin Lake. These areas are co-utilized by a particularly numerous set of patronyms.

The eleven to thirty per cent extent of land utilization is probably the best indicator of the extent of trapping heartland that is of central use to the community residents of Wunnummin Lake.

The activities to the north-west and south-west of Big Trout Lake are the activities of a number of individuals who have strong family ties to residents of Big Trout Lake and with whom they had trapped on occasion. These lands should be regarded as esoteric in use but nevertheless important as individuals from Wunnummin Lake made the choice to rest their own lands in order to visit north and west of Big Trout Lake. These external lands thus constitute part of the Wunnummin Lake array of utilization, if only by and through unusual circumstance. Just this kind of utilization expresses the social importance and economic necessity of a flexible land utilization system.

Hunting Intensity 1925-1965

Hunting territories for this community and for all

subsequent ones are always and consistently larger than the trapping territories. Most often when tracks are spotted on the periphery of a trapline local custom permits tracking into another's trapline area in order to follow large migratory or far-ranging game. Thus, hunting territories overlap a great deal more than do trapping territories.

There are several areas around Wunnummin Lake which had had forest fires in the past. Moose are drawn to these spots in search of new growth. A few of these areas reflect a higher concentration of hunting activity.

Hunting heartland seems to be around Wunnummin Lake roughly extending from Big Beaver House on the west to Long Dog Lake in the north down to Reeb Lake on the east side and across to Wallington Lake and Lafferty Creek in the south-west. Hunting beyond this outline (the 11-30 per cent area) tends to be more the work of single individuals, but not of any single person.

The area south of Wunnummin Lake around Drummond Lake was important as this was a burnt-out area, and accessible to Wunnummin Lake people as well as to people from Osnaburgh House who would come up on the north road just north of the Menako Lakes. This hunting ground was consistently utilized by the few households that used these lands.

Hunting Intensity 1966-1975

The early period hunting map (above) is a composite of 40 years of activities on the land whereas this map is a composite of only 9 years activity. For these nine years less land was used than in the past forty years. In the previous

years more hunting was possible, (and sought) in non-Wunnummin Lake territory because residence at Big Trout Lake.

In the late 1960's there were few stocks of moose in these lands around Wunnummin Lake. It was not productive moose hunting territory. Thus trappers hunted moose or deer only when they spotted tracks on their trapline and would seldom venture out specifically to hunt moose, as there were few, if any, certain places where one could hunt moose. Towards the end of this period more moose were coming into the Wunnummin Lake homelands, and more hunters were making one day or two day trips to obtain moose.

One should note that bear and moose hunting are included on the one map. Few people hunted bear very actively in the past and bears are hunted only very occasionally at present.

The greater concentration of hunting to the south of Wunnummin Lake reflects the higher concentration of trappers locate there.

A few families have hunted with their Kingfisher Lake kinsmen to the west of Big Beaver House, where there have been a few forest fires recently.

Fishing Intensity 1925-1965

There is a very close correspondence between the lakes and rivers fished and the territories utilized in trapping. Trapping activity determines which lands are used, for a host of other activities as well.

Apart from the close association of trapping and

fishing, three other features of this map should be noted: the strong east-west orientation of fishing. Kingfisher Lake, Maria Lake and Wunnummin Lake are all in a row, and are at the same time the location of many of the preferred species of fish.

The Ashweig River and the Pipestone River were and are important for sturgeon fishing. Sturgeon had been commercially fished until 1948, when it was prohibited. The stocks were rapidly becoming depleted due to the free rein given to the non-native commercial fisheries.

The fishing in and around Big Trout Lake reflects the historical connection.

Fishing in specific locations along the Severn River was for commercial sturgeon fishing. People were flown by charter services to these locations and would corral the sturgeon and wait for flights to pick-up the live sturgeon every few days. The sturgeon season was in the later summer.

The continuous colouring around Wunnummin Lake indicates the use of most of the smaller lakes on the traplines for domestic fishing purposes.

Fishing Intensity 1966-1975

There is very little change in the fishing areas from the earlier to the later maps. The only difference in this map is the omission of the sturgeon fishing spots along the Severn River.

The other difference on this map is that fishing became of critical importance to most of the Wunnummin Lake families (over 60% of the households) in the years after 1964, as fish

became the sole source of protein for many during the summer and winter. As the viability of large game hunting decreased, and the problems of outfitting adequately for trapping increased, fishing became the only dependable source of food.

Fowling Intensity

Exactly the same areas were used for fowling in both periods (1925-1965 and 1966-1975). Fowling takes place in two ways: on the trapline non-migratory birds when spotted are shot; on the rivers and creeks blinds may or may not be built in the fall and spring to take the migratory birds especially Canada geese and a number of different duck species. The riverine hunting of geese and ducks is often carried out in association with fishing activities.

The northern areas reflect an earlier utilization and the areas closer to the settlement of Wunnummin Lake reflect areas of more recent fowling activity. There are no specific areas or territories for fowling, nor are people delimited to fowling areas. Fowling takes place wherever people spot ducks, geese (grouse) or partridge. Children take a lot of small birds with slings.

The fowling map thus is largely coincident with the trapping, fishing and hunting maps.

Summer Travel Routes

The summer route map indicates a strong three way movement of peoples from this community. There is a strong

tendency for people to canoe from Wunnummin Lake to Kingfisher Lake via Maria Lake (the contemporary preferred pattern) or via the Pipestone River (the older pathway). From Kingfisher Lake the route is then directly north down the Ashweig River, and then a number of different possible portages are taken to arrive at Big Trout Lake. The third route is southwards from Big Beaver House to just north of Forester Lake. This latter route was important for fishing and visiting with peoples from Osnaburgh House.

Though long distance travel is not uncommon at present long-distance travel for the sole purpose of gaining employment is not undertaken as often these days. For example, a number of routes were used expressly to gain work. The route to Osnaburgh House was taken less for visiting than to gain work in the Pickle Crow-Pickle Lake mines. Routes to Attawapiskat and Fort Severn were taken respectively to obtain work at the Hudson Bay Post and to carry loads to Fort Severn for the Hudson Bay Company.

Whether fifty years ago or today, summer routes are used for visiting family and kinsmen married and resident in distant but accessible communities; for employment purposes; and to 'visit' new territories. It was not unusual for us to record that individuals had heard or noticed that certain lands were no longer being used because individuals were no longer interested in trapping or who were unable to do so for any number of reasons. These interested individuals would then either go alone or with their families to see what these lands looked like, if they could be used, and so on. Within a year or two these individuals may slowly accrete these lands to their own, either

wholly or in portion.

Winter Travel Routes

A totally different pattern of travel is noted in the winter travel maps. Here the pattern is very much more radial out from the centre of the community. Winter routes are for travel to and fro from the trapping territories. The routes on the trapline are more circular. They cut across many features. The routes are only partially along rivers or creeks. There are many routes which have been cut expressly for snowshoe or skidoo travel. They are narrow paths in the woods known to the local trappers, cut and maintained by them. The heaviest travelled route is the one south-east of Wunnummin Lake to the McKay-Sturgeon-Martin trapping areas.

In the middle of the winter when trapping is the most difficult, a fair amount of visiting may take place between Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake. There is some mid-winter visiting to Big Trout Lake, for supplies unavailable in Wunnummin Lake, or for medical attention.

Many of the far northern routes are linked with the earlier phase of trapping and hunting noted above.

Wunnummin Lake Land Utilization

This map is a composite of all the individual activity maps, except for the route maps.

The lands most often used and of critical use value to the Wunnummin Lake population presently living in the community

of Wunnummin Lake are those lands in the 11-30 per cent range. All forms of hunting, trapping and fowling activities are low intensity activities, and for obvious reasons these activities decline in productivity with an increase in intensity of utilization and occupancy. It is suggested that the optimum use of lands is therefore in this range. In other words, given the present trapping and hunting population in Wunnummin Lake, the distribution of patronymic groups over the land (within their own territories and co-trapping in other patronymic lands) is structured so that 11-30 per cent of the utilizing households are in any one territory at any one time, or have access to a territory at any one time.

The full extent of these 11-30 per cent lands is required for the satisfactory maintenance of the social and economic basis of community life in Wunnummin Lake. The access to and irregular utilization of the less than 11 per cent category of lands acts as a safety valve for the community of Wunnummin Lake. These lands do not constitute the heartland or homeland but they are significant as they provide sustenance to the population groups at various critical points in their existence.

Reading the Maps -- Kingfisher Lake

The Kingfisher Lake land utilization and occupancy data were also compiled into ten sets of maps identical to those compiled for Wunnummin Lake. The original intent had been to compare the activities of the sister communities of Wunnummin

Lake and Kingfisher Land, but over the years Kayahna organized the land utilization research independently and we were able to collect data from all seven Kayahna Tribal Council communities. We are thus able to compare more than just two communities. Concurrently we had to revise our compilation criteria, especially the numbers of maps that were drawn up for final presentation for the other five communities.

The interview sample from this community is relatively small. Only seventeen households were interviewed. The land utilization and occupancy study group was present in Kingfisher Lake for only a very short period of time in 1975. Most of the fieldworkers were borrowed for only a few days at a time from other Grand Council Treaty No. 9 programmes. In the time that the group was in Kingfisher Lake we were able to interview only those who were present in the community, and of these individuals only those who had time to work through the lengthy interview process.

The households that we did interview utilize adjacent lands for the contemporary period. This means that we were able to achieve household maps which give a good indication of the extent of the lands of critical use value for the contemporary population.

A maximum of five households contributed the data which made up the earlier period maps. These maps should be treated with caution. They represent the activities of a few specific patronymic groups and are not to be regarded as indicative of the range or form of activity for the Kingfisher Lake population from 1925 to either 1948 or 1965 (depending upon the map activity).

Trapping_Intensity_1925-1948

The activity represented on this map is from five households utilizing discretely different territories. This map gives a rather good indication of how little overlap there may be on the perimeters of territories, (see the northern and western territories).

The cutting across patches or discretely different ecological zones is evidenced on this map, especially in the southern territory which crosses two lakes and two rivers. The same pattern is duplicated in the northern and western territories.

As this population had been resident for a portion of the year at Big Beaver House prior to the 1930's the lands used are too focused about Big Beaver House more than around Kingfisher Lake. The lacustrine portions of the Pipestone River including Maria Lake were heavily utilized areas then as now.

Evidenced on this map is the close integration of territorial use by households from both Kingfisher Lake and Wunnummin Lake in the area between Maria Lake and Wunnummin Lake. This pattern of integration is continuous with the pattern found at present. It is made possible by the form of intermarriage between patronymic groups resided in the two communities. Externally, there would seem to be overlapping use, perhaps a conflict over utilization of these lands. However, as these lands are co-utilized by kinsmen living in adjoining communities there is no conflict over utilization. The arrangement of which lands will be used by whom is sorted out internally within the

set of patronymic groups controlling those areas.

Generally, one can note the strong exclusivity of boundary between Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake apart from the Maria Lake area noted above.

Trapping Intensity 1949-1975

This map has a number of interesting features particular to this community. For example, the maximal extent of use of territory coincides almost completely with the 11-30 per cent category of utilization. There would seem to be a lot less utilization of external lands in this community than in comparison to Wunnummin Lake, however, I suggest that this coincidence of intensities may be the result of the interviewing techniques employed rather than of what the people had actually undertaken in the past and present. The interviewing times were so restricted that extensive mapping was not possible.

On this composite the activities of all seventeen households is represented. To the north of Maria Lake there is minimal overlap in utilization with Wunnummin Lake groups. The groups from the two communities utilizing these adjoining lands are very weakly intermarried. Thus this is a good example of boundary exclusiveness and how this exclusiveness is maintained through a lack of social interaction. Overall there is a north-south emphasis in the location of the lands utilized.

The groups presently resident in Kingfisher Lake had also at one time been resident in Big Trout Lake. There had been

some utilization of lands within Big Trout Lake homeland. This link is only barely perceptible on the map. There are two individuals who have noted their use of lands at the southeast corner of Big Trout Lake, which would seem to be areas used in transit.

The two areas of higher land utilization north of Kingfisher Lake indicate overlapping boundaries of a number of trappers. These areas are on occasion areas sought out or pre-arranged for meeting members from other groups who might also be on the trapline. Sometimes individuals from adjoining areas may co-trap for a day or two and then return to their own lands.

It is of interest to note that several households expressed an interest to re-settle Big Beaver House, as this community would be closer to their ancestral lands. We were unable to interview all the members of the patronymic groups utilizing the lands to the south and east of Big Beaver House, some of whom were out on their lands for the entire period of study in Kingfisher Lake.

Hunting Intensity 1925-1965

Hunting territory is more extensive in area than the trapping territory. However, there is a strong correspondence between the areas used in trapping and those used for hunting. There are four areas of more intensive land utilization: the two smallest areas to the south of Maria Lake are due to overlap of hunting territories; whereas the large area to the west and south of Big Beaver House is traditionally heavily utilized by a

number of Kingfisher Lake patronymic groups. This particular area had been burnt over and attracted a large number of moose.

The area south of Big Beaver House and south of the Pipestone River is also a heavily utilized section of land by patronymic groups from both Kingfisher Lake and Wunnummin Lake. Noteworthy on these maps is the orientation of peoples' hunting activities. There would seem to be a preference for hunting in lands further to the north-west and north of the community rather than to the south of Kingfisher Lake. The southerly portions of the hunting and trapping lands are curtailed by utilization by North Caribou Lake and North Spirit Lake peoples. The orientation of the Kingfisher Lands northwards towards Big Trout Lake in part explains the historical association of the Kingfisher group with Big Trout Lake.

The social connectedness of this community to Wunnummin Lake is evidenced by the use of lands north of Wunnummin Lake and to the east of the community along the Winisk River. The utilization of territories to the north between Wapekeka Lake and Kasabonika Lake is the result of association of a number of patronyms with Kasabonika and Big Trout Lake families during their residence period in Big Trout Lake.

Hunting is a more generalized activity than is the norm for trapping. This means that people may spot a moose or deer and will hunt the game regardless of whether the animal is within their grounds or in someone else's lands. The normative rule states that one should not purposely hunt into another's lands, but one can track or follow game into another's lands, one can also hunt on a trip through another's lands. The area south of

Big Trout Lake was used in the latter fashion by one man and his family en route to Big Trout Lake.

Hunting Intensity 1966-1975

In comparison to the earlier map the 1966-1975 map indicates a consolidation of hunting grounds. Lands utilized are totally within the Kingfisher Lake homeland with only a slight overlap of utilization with the Long Dog Lake patronyms and some co-utilization with Wunnummin Lake groups. The productivity of the area between Fennell Lake and Big Beaver House south of Kingfisher Lake decreased as the forest growth revitalized. People commented profusely on the lack of large game in the Kingfisher Lake area and expressed hope that conditions would improve for hunting. The area north of Forester Lake was sought out by one family for hunting. It is not known whether or not this area had burnt over.

Fishing Intensity 1925-19765, 1966-1975

Both maps are nearly identical and can be treated together. Both in the earlier phase and in the later one fishing is of great importance to the community. Four different patterns of fishing are expressed on these maps. First of all, the larger lakes in the Kingfisher lake area are utilized by over two-thirds of the households, however no single lake is utilized by more than two-thirds of the households. Households selectively utilize only those lakes to which they have access.

Second, these larger lakes are fished for commercial sale. This form of fishing had been very important to several of the households, but with the discovery of high levels of mercury in the fish, commercial fishing closed down completely for this community by the late 1970's.

In domestic consumption fishing, the fishing arrangements are informal and are continually changing as situations necessitate. For commercial fishing, crews are pre-arranged so that specific individuals are responsible for catches and are remunerated by the Freshwater Fish Marketing Board. Thus the larger lakes are fished both for domestic consumption and commercial sale.

Third, smaller lakes and rivers or creeks within trapping areas are fished solely for domestic consumption. These lakes are used in conjunction with the primary activity of trapping. Women are often responsible for setting out the nets while the men trap, but men may also, and do, set fish nets either alone or in the company of their wives and/or children. The less than 11 per cent areas are the trapping line fishing areas.

Fourth, some sections of the Ashweig and Pipestone Rivers were fished for commercial sale of sturgeon. In this form of fishing, men were flown in by the fishing companies to the sturgeon spots. Sturgeon were caught by nets, pooled live and every few days the planes would arrive for the sturgeon. This form of fishing was lucrative but threatened the extinction of sturgeon from northern waters and was abolished in 1948. The high intensity spots on the two rivers are the specific sites for commercial sturgeon fishing, and much later for domestic use.

Wunnummin Lake was fished commercially, as well, by a number of families related to the Wunnummin Lake commercial fishing groups. Wunnummin Lake remained an important fishing lake to the Kingfisher Lake people. The heavily travelled routes to Big Trout Lake and south to the Menako and Obustiga Lakes region were also fished.

Fowling Intensity

Fowling is an activity closely associated with trapping and hunting. Migratory birds are taken along the rivers on hunting or fishing trips. Blinds are on occasion built at favourite spots. Two such spots are along the Ashweig River and the other is on Forester Lake. Non-migratory birds are most often taken within the trapline areas. Children often shoot many small species of birds near campsites or around the lakes on day journeys. The larger lakes are important for many species of migratory fowl, in addition to loons which are considered to be a delicacy.

Summer Travel Routes

Summer travel routes constitute an excellent indicator of preferred sociability. The Kingfisher Lake people have very strong contacts with populations in Big Trout Lake, Wunnummin Lake, and with several groups from Osnaburgh House, with whom they meet in the Menako Lake-Obustiga Lake region. There a number

of traditionally important meeting places along the Pipestone-Pineimuta River route. Patronymic groups from Windigo Lake, North Caribou Lake, Weagomow Lake would come together along sections of the route in the summer. It is anticipated that the heavy utilization of this route will be replicated on the summer travel route maps for the other communities.

The northerly route to Big Trout Lake had been and is being used by all the interviewed households. The route to Big Trout Lake is along the Ashweig River. Before reaching Nemeigusabins Lake the routes diverge. One is along a further stretch of the Ashweig River taking advantage of the sturgeon fishing along a section of rapids. The other is along a tributary of the Ashweig River and then series of portages to Lake Nemeigusabins which is a shorter route and by-passes the rapids.

Equally heavily utilized is the route south of Kingfisher Lake through Big Beaver House and then on to the Menako Lake and Obustiga Lake region. This is a good hunting region but this is not the primary reason for taking this route. The canoe route ends at Obustiga Lake where it comes out at the northern (ungraded) highway before it turns sharply westwards. This highway leads southwards to Pickle Lake, Pickle Crow and Osnaburgh House. The purpose of taking the route southwards was (until the closing of the mines in the 1950's) to look for work at the mines. Hunting and fishing did take place along the route, but just in order to provide immediate sustenance along the way.

There are two heavily travelled routes to Wunnummin Lake, to the east of Kingfisher Lake. The one route is north

through Maria Lake and the other is south through Big Beaver House and along the Pipestone River. The latter has gained in prominence over the last ten years.

Some of the routes drawn on the summer route composite were used either in the late summer-early fall or very late in the trapping season therefore some routes are trapping routes (either returning from or going to the trapline) made by canoe before or after the ice and snows have set in or melted. The routes west of Kingfisher Lake are in this category. They are routes out to and from the trapping grounds by a number of individuals who prefer to stay out on the lands until late in the season and to leave for the trapping grounds in late summer.

There are a number of routes taken fairly regularly to visit with family and friends in other communities. One such route was to Lansdowne House, another to North Caribou Lake, another to Long Dog Lake and one to Bearskin Lake. The two far northern routes to Fort Severn were made by York boat carrying goods up to that community in the 1930's and the 1940's in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company.

Winter Travel Routes

The Kingfisher winter travel routes look quite different in comparison to the winter travel route maps for the other communities. On this map only major travel routes are represented. As we had so little time in the community of Kingfisher Lake we had to decide to collect at least the major routes, rather than all the time consuming individual routes used within each and every trapline. Thus on this map there are none

of the characteristic thin-lined trapline routes. These should be collected at some later point to have comparable information for this community.

The northern and north-western emphasis noted in the trapping maps is present in the routes map. From this map one can discern the major trapping areas to the south-west of Big Beaver House, north-west of Kingfisher Lake, south-east of Kingfisher Lake and north of Maria Lake. Winter routes do extend further than the limits of the trapping areas which indicates that trappers visited into other territories, but did not actively hunt or trap in those lands.

In the winter period, there were a number -at least four-different ways of reaching the Kingfisher Lake grounds from Big Trout Lake and this is clearly seen on the map. Prior to settlement of Kingfisher Lake, snowshoe and dog-team were the primary means for reaching the trapping lands. After the creation of the settlement the use of the skidoo gained in popularity and the use of dog-teams lessened.

In the winter there is a lot of movement between Kingfisher Lake, and Big Beaver House and Wunnummin Lake, and these routes are clearly noted on the maps. There is a tractor trailer route from Big Beaver House to Big Trout Lake. This is used in the winter to bring in supplies from Big Trout Lake. Since it is a cleared route and quite wide, it is not unlike a highway and is regularly travelled by skidoo.

Overall Land Utilization

Four characteristic features can be noted on the Kingfisher overall land utilization map. There is a very strong coincidence of homeland territory, that is of territory of primary utilization and importance, with outlying or secondary utilization territories. It should be cautioned that this may have been the outcome of the swift mapping technique employed rather than the reality of land utilization by community members. In subsequent mapping of the Kayahna communities, it was found that the more time that was spent on mapping with each individual, the more recall of used lands there occurred. In the Kingfisher situation, we were possibly collecting only regularly used lands and not lands used on a one-time basis. As was stressed above, one-time lands are significant as they allow for the resting (laying fallow) of one's own lands or allow for access to lands in case one's own lands are unproductive, or otherwise inaccessible. We know that most of the community members of Kingfisher Lake had been resident at one time in Big Trout Lake, but their utilization of Big Trout Lake lands is not expressed on this series of maps except quite incidentally.

The Kingfisher Lake households expressed a very strong reliance upon the rivers, especially the Ashweig, Pipestone and connecting river between Maria Lake and Wunnummin Lake.

The eastern limit of Kingfisher Lake lands is thoroughly blended into, and with, the western limit of Wunnummin Lake lands, especially along the western edge of Wunnummin Lake to Big North Lake. The blending of the homelands diminishes towards Long Dog Lake where a greater homeland exclusivity is evident. The Kingfisher Lake homelands are north and north-west

of the community, but at the same time south of Big Beaver House there is a marked concentration of utilization and increasing occupancy.

Reading the Maps-Wapekeka Lake (formerly Angling Lake)

For this community and the following ones in this series, there are no time period divisions. Each map covers the entire fifty-three year period from 1925 to 1978. Data for these maps was collected in 1978, three years after the Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake data were collected. This series of maps was initiated and collected by the community of Wapekeka Lake. The former design was adopted in order to maintain a correspondence of data.

Trapping Intensity

Wapekeka Lake has approximately the same population as Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake. Its pattern of land utilization is distinctly different from both of these communities. In breadth of land utilization and occupancy it resembles the utilization practices of Wunnummin Lake and perhaps also of Kingfisher Lake had we been able to collect in-depth map biographies in the latter settlement.

There are a number of distinctive features of this map. The first is that the lands are very dispersed in a circular fashion about Wapekeka Lake. This is no doubt a function of the small size of the community and its close association with the

larger community of Big Trout Lake, with which the Wapekeka residents have numerous connections.

The proximity of Wapekeka Lake to Big Trout Lake has engendered a most characteristic overlapping of territorial utilization which can only be understood in terms of the intertwined and complicated kinship arrangements which function in land utilization operations. However, the Big Trout Lake connections do not alone explain the array of 'external' lands utilized by Wapekeka Lake residents. Lands are used around and south of Kasabonika Lake and to the north of Nibinamik.

Lands in the vicinity of Long Dog Lake are combined with utilization of lands south of Wapekeka Lake. Two areas that are within the homelands of the Sachigo Lake peoples are also utilized. This utilization was possible as many of the Muskrat Dam people were also resident in Big Trout Lake. We have not collected land utilization and occupancy maps from this community, therefore, a more detailed analysis of the nature of this land utilization may have to await the completion of a Muskrat Dam study.

In the main, there is a strong south-west to north-east orientation of the principal Wapekeka territories. The southern tributaries of the Severn and Fawn Rivers constitute the main homeland area utilized by the six principal patronymic groups of the community. The concentration of trapping activity is remarkable in the area to the north of Angling and Otter Lakes. All six patronymic groups utilize portions of this 31 to 60 per cent category area as well as portions of the other two eleven to thirty per cent category areas. A typical Wapekeka Lake

trapping area would be composed of a high intensity use aread, a medium intensity use area and a perimeter low intensity use area. The latter two intensity areas are also utilized extensively by patronymic groups from both Kasabonika and Big Trout Lakes. There, all the category lands are in effect equally intensively utilized. (see the Combined Land Utilization Map). On this map and in the maps for Kasabonika and Big Trout Lake the activity to the north and north-east of the community attests to its productivity, and trapper and hunter preference, whereas the regions to the south of the lake of Big Trout Lake are not utilized quite so intensively, nor with as much overlap from other communities.

The Wapekeka Lands to the north of Wapekeka Lake are a combination of swamp, lowlands and higher grounds reflecting the pattern of cutting across patch types in order to maximize the numbers and variety of the catch.

The importance of the lands south of Big Trout Lake, along the Bug River and Mishwamakan River is evidenced on the map for all three communities. This area is well known for its fishing. The utilization of this area is carried out by a number of families with primary kinship connections with a series of Big Trout Lake families.

It should also be pointed out that the lands utilized on the more northerly stretches of the Severn River are attributable to one patronymic group (from Fort Severn) whose lands are located inland from Fort Severn. An individual from the patronymic group married a woman from Wapekeka Lake, and settled in Wapekeka Lake. The woman's paternal aunt had also

married a man from Fort Severn. Therefore, it was not an unusual event for marriages to take place between inland Fort Severn persons with northern Big Trout Lake individuals.

The area between the confluence of the Sachigo and Severn Rivers to Rocksands was a well known meeting place in the recent historical past. In mid-winter and around the time of the fall caribou hunt families from both communities would meet between the confluence to Rocksands. The area is an apt meeting place as it is on the perimeter of the homelands of the Fort Severn and Big Trout Lake communities. A few acres of land at the confluence had been designated as the Fort Severn reserve by the Treaty Commissioners in 1930, however, the area has few merits in terms of hunting or fishing possibilities. It has never been occupied as a reserve, and recently the Fort Severn's reserve allocation was made at the mouth of the Severn River.

The more northerly traplines begin to be more elongated as all the productivity of the land decreases and more land is required for adequate sustenance. The Wapekeka Lake trapline composite is more elongated than the other more southerly Kayahna communities' composites but less so than the one for the Fort Severn community.

Hunting Intensity

Typically, hunting territory is more expansive than trapping territory. In the main, hunting activities take place within the trapping areas. As hunting is permissible beyond the boundaries of one's trapping territory, there are very high

concentrations of hunters in small areas where moose are known to congregate. For example the spot north-east of Otter Lake is just such an area of concentrated hunting activity.

Aside from the concentration of hunting activity in the Wapekeka Lake homeland, south-east of Big Trout Lake is a preferred hunting area for a number of families with connections to Long Dog Lake households. The Bug River-Mishwamakan River area is also an important hunting area, and a large area west of the Wapaseese River in Sachigo Lake homeland is also utilized by a number of Wapekeka households.

Fishing Intensity

Clearly, the Wapekeka residents have a very strong reliance upon the Fawn river for travel and fishing throughout the year. A second feature is the strong utilization of Big Trout Lake and Wapekeka Lake both for domestic consumption and commercial fishing. The Bug River-Mishwamakan river area is also quite important for fishing.

The third feature is the dependence of trappers and hunters upon the small lakes during the winter while on their traplines. These lakes are solely fished for domestic consumption. Most of these tiny lakes are nearly non-existent in the summer. In the recent past lakes on the trapline were fished to supply dogs with food, and only under stressful conditions was the fish consumed by humans, as most of these lakes do not have premium species.

The Long Dog Lake area, the Winisk River area and the

Rocksands stretch were all utilized by single households in the winter and early spring. A couple of the families have fished along the Otter River and in small lakes on their way to Kasabonika Lake.

Summer Travel Routes

The strong social association of kinship groups of Wapekeka Lake with those from Big Trout Lake is shown by the more than fifty per cent of individuals from Wapekeka Lake using the route to Big Trout Lake. However, the route northwards along the Fawn River is equally heavily utilized. The heavy utilization extends to just north of Atikameg Lake, and it is of note that this section is also the one with the most rapids and at least two sets of falls. This section of the river has very good fishing. Thirty-one to fifty per cent of the households travel up a further section of the River and sixteen to thirty per cent of the households travel the river up to Fort Severn, Winisk and Churchill, Manitoba. The route between Kasabonika and Big Trout Lake via Wapekeka Lake is also travelled by sixteen to thirty per cent of the households. It is a difficult route and involves five or six portages. An equal number of households travel to Bearskin Lake but by two divergent routes separating at the western end of Big Trout Lake and joining together again at the eastern side of Severn Lake to the west of Big Trout Lake.

There are a number of routes which tend to have been travelled (and still are being travelled) by individual households; along the Sachigo River; to Makoop Lake; along the

southern tributaries of the Fawn River; south of Shibongama Lake; and several routes to Wunnummin Lake, Nibinamik and on to Lansdowne House.

The Wapekeka Lake routes were and are used for three primary reasons: in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company; in search of work in Fort Severn or Churchill; and for reasons of familiarity and sociability.

The Fawn River route had been an important Hudson Bay Company supply route to the coastal communities of Fort Severn and Winisk. This route was well known and travelled by over a third of all the men from Big Trout Lake, Kasabonika and Wapekeka Lake until the second world war. After the second world war supplies were flown in by air. Once the overland method of transportation was no longer economically viable for the Hudson Bay Company, the route remained utilized by individuals and families in search of work or in maintaining or renewing kinship associations.

Winter Travel Routes

The winter route map is quite revealing in detailing a history of the trapping movement of the residents of Wapekeka Lake. There are two foci of the Wapekeka land utilization. The first is north and east of Wapekeka Lake and Otter Lake between the Witegoos River on the west and Ghost Lake on the east and extends for approximately sixty miles up the Fawn River. This area was and is heavily traversed by snowshoe, dog team, skidoo and canoe in the early fall and late spring. The trapping routes

are characteristically circular. They are partly guided by the location of small rivers and creeks, but for the most part they are a combination of waterways and treks over land in the familiar patch-use format.

The second locus of routes is to the south of Big Trout Lake centered on the Bug and Mishwamakan Rivers. This second locus is quite distant from the Wapekeka homelands (some of the traplines are fifty miles distant from Wapekeka Lake) and it is hypothesized that there might in fact be two sets of patronymic groups with two discretely different homelands co-resident within Wapekeka Lake. From this it could be anticipated that a fissioning of the community will occur with a new settlement being created at perhaps Makoop Lake, or, a settlement of this set of patronymic groups at Big Trout Lake. The Bug River-Mishwamakan River area is also heavily utilized throughout the year by many patronymic groups from Big Trout Lake. Access to these lands by the Wapekeka Lake peoples may have been through intermarriage; thus from an original 'core' of Wapekeka Lake families two parts have developed. It will be most interesting to follow through how this bi-polar utilization of lands is resolved, or significantly maintained.

The utilization of the Severn River (three areas) Thorne River, Swan Lake, Long Dog Lake, Kasabonika and Nibinamik Lake areas is mostly by individuals now resident in Wapekeka Lake but who used or are using these lands to which they have primary and secondary rights of access, and which rights they maintain through the utilization and occupancy of these lands. The lands around Long Dog Lake are a particularly good example of this

retention of primary rights.

Several households utilizing this territory are resident for one-half of the year in Wapekeka Lake and for the remainder of the year in Long Dog Lake. In a few years it is probable that Long Dog Lake will become a fully permanent settlement.

The use of the Nibinamik lands is an example of secondary rights where utilization of these lands is more occasional and possible because of affinal connections.

The routes south to Big Beaver House and Wunnummin Lake were an early set of routes to visit with families camped near these lakes in the mid-winter period.

The link with Big Trout Lake is very strong and supercedes all other routes in volume of utilization. It is clear that people going north-west and south-west of Wapekeka Lake do so by purposefully going through the settlement of Big Trout Lake first.

Overall Land Utilization

The overall land utilization of Wapekeka Lake is most extensive. The areas of greatest utilization and which could be referred to as the homeland are north and east of Wapekeka and Otter Lakes from just west of the Goose River to the southern tributaries of the Fawn River, around the south-east edge of the lake of Big Trout Lake to and including the Bug-Mishwamakan River area. The north-west and south-east (eleven to thirty per cent category) areas are used more incidentally in travel to and from

the principal wide-flung Wapekeka Lake homelands.

The heavy utilization of land around Big Trout Lake is intricately intermeshed with the land utilization of families from Big Trout Lake. There is noticeably less overlap in land utilization with Kasabonika, though there are still a significant number of families with primary connections with groups in that community.

Generally, there is a strong reliance on the Fawn River system in all activities which orients the Wapekeka Lake land utilization and occupancy in a south-west to north-east direction.

Reading the Maps--Big Trout Lake

The land utilization and occupancy maps for this community were collected over a two year period from 1978 to 1979. The data depicted on the composites covers the time period from 1925 to 1979.

The community of Big Trout Lake has played a central role in the political, social and economic life of the entire Kayahna Region. Its' centrality within the region has meant that the activities of other communities are on occasion subsumed within the activities of Big Trout Lake. The historical importance of the community during the late fur trade period, functioning as a centre of communications and supplies, and then later as the principal reserve community with government administrative services, medical services and schools, has meant that the overall compilation of the land utilization and

occupancy of Big Trout Lake is multifaceted and complex. It would have been most useful to have been able to separate the land utilization and occupancy activities for this large population by time period in order to glimpse the historical changes over time and especially to see how lands fell away from Big Trout Lake control as new communities such as Kingfisher Lake, Long Dog Lake, and Wunnummin Lake arose in the surrounding region.

Trapping Intensity

The core population of Big Trout Lake is two to three times larger than the population of the surrounding communities of Wunnummin Lake, Kingfisher Lake, Wapekeka Lake and Kasabonika Lake, (in Long Dog Lake there are only five or six households in comparison to the sixty-five households resident in Big Trout Lake). Correspondingly the land utilization in trapping is two to three times larger than any of the surrounding communities. The trapping activities of the Big Trout Lake households covers many of the lands of the surrounding communities except for the southern limits of the Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake homelands. The trapping activities also enter into lands of other Tribal Council lands such as of the Windigo and Pendabin groups.

In a preliminary fashion one can delineate five major areas of utilization by five major family groupings from Big Trout Lake.

The first area is to the north and east of Big Trout

Lake from Misikeyask Lake on the north-west side of Big Trout Lake to about two miles east of the Fawn River. The second is north-east of Wapekeka Lake along the Otter and Fawn Rivers. The third area is around Long Dog Lake. The fourth area is south of Big Trout Lake from the Bug River at the south-east side of Big Trout Lake to Makoop Lake, and including the lands on the southern side of Big Trout Lake around Lake Nemeigusabins. The fifth area is to the far north-west of Big Trout Lake is west of the Severn River and about the upper reaches of the Sachigo river, between the Thorne and Wapaseese Rivers. This latter area is approximately fifty-five miles distant from Big Trout Lake. A great number of the Sachigo Lake households utilizing these lands came to live at Big Trout Lake at treaty time and continue to maintain their utilization of these lands. The Sachigo Lake patronymic groups have developed strong residential and kinship connections with groups in Big Trout Lake, and continue to maintain strong kinship and affinal connections with patronymic groups resident in Shamattawa, Manitoba.

The Big Trout Lake trapping territories are oriented in a south-west to north-east direction. The community of Big Trout Lake is slightly south of the centre within the oval shaped territories. The eleven to thirty per cent area of utilization is twice as long as it is wide. The depth of this use area is no more than ten miles on the west side of Big Trout Lake where it abutts Bearskin Lake territories, and is about fifteen to twenty miles wide on the east side of Big Trout Lake right next to the Wapekeka and Kasabonika Lake homelands.

The less than eleven per cent territories have been

utilized by one to six households. This is a significant figure to remember as the colour gradation on the maps are in percentages. Percentages are useful for comparison with the nature of land utilization in the other Kayahna communities, however, the figures involved for this community are quite a bit higher than for the other Kayahna Region communities. This means that these lowest density areas on the Big Trout Lake maps could be within the eleven to thirty per cent category for the other communities. These Big Trout Lake lands cannot be regarded therefore, as peripheral lands. Over three quarters of the population have used their own lands within Big Trout Lake homelands in conjunction with lands in the homelands of one or two other communities. The option of utilizing other lands is to be seen as of great value for members of this community. In addition they continue to enter into marital and trapping arrangements which will allow them to continue to use external lands in a traditional mode. This constitutes an important element in the total pattern of Big Trout Lake land utilization.

Generally, the trapping territories are extremely wide ranging. Some of this range is due to the historical circumstances experienced by the resident of Big Trout Lake which made available to them connections with groups from more distant homelands. The extensive range is, it should be remembered, a composite of fifty-four years of trapping activity, hence, this map is an indication more of the range of lands used throughout this period rather than of lands being used at present, though the potential for use of this range of lands does exist.

The range of lands used extends from Manitoba on the

west side to the inland community lands of Attawapiskat on the east side. To the north, lands within the Fort Severn homeland are used and to the south Weagamow, North Spirit Lake and Lansdowne House lands are utilized.

Hunting_Intensity

There are five primary areas of hunting activity and these correspond to the five trapping areas noted above. (Goose-Witegoo Rivers; Otter-Fawn Rivers; Long Dog Lake; Bug-Mishwamakan Rivers; and Sachigo River). The exclusivity of family or patronymic hunting and trapping territories can be glimpsed a little more clearly on this map as the five areas are more distinctly outlined.

The main areas of hunting follow the south-west to north-east orientation of trapping activity.

The widespread hunting activity continues to the present, but there is a marked increase in hunting north of community rather than to the east and south of Big Trout Lake. The southern area around Bug River is a moose hunting. The northerly areas around the Sachigo River and more northern parts of the Fawn and Severn Rivers are important for caribou hunting.

Fishing_Intensity

The dependency on Big Trout Lake for fishing is dramatically evident on this map. Every single household interviewed utilized at least a portion of the lake, though not

all households utilized the same parts of the lake. The three high intensity use areas (marked greater than sixty per cent on the map) are known spots for trout fishing. Big Trout Lake is important for both commercial fishing and domestic consumption. The area south of Big Trout Lake on the Bug River is an important tourist fishing camp area begun by the Big Trout Lake band in the late 1970's, as an additional source of revenue.

The fishing in small lakes throughout the Big Trout Lake homeland is typical of winter fishing on the traplines.

Fishing along the rivers is en route fishing, that is en route to locations for hunting, trapping, looking for work or to other communities. Nets may be set or hook and lines are used. In a few instances old wooden or stone weirs are quickly repaired and used.

When Wunnummin Lake was a viable lake for commercial fishing, on occasion a household or two from Big Trout Lake would come down to Wunnummin Lake to take part. However, most of the commercial fishing in the neighbouring large lakes is done solely by the residents of that community, with very little opportunity for non-residents or temporary residents to take part. Thus most of the fishing in the larger surrounding lakes is for domestic and immediate consumption.

Fish are an extremely important source of daily protein in the summer. Large quantities of fish are caught and most are immediately consumed. The rest are smoked, or smoked and dried and pounded into a meal for use on the trapline. The pounded meal is rich, light and ideally suited for light travel to the trapline or on hunting trips.

Summer Travel Routes

There are two most heavily used (over sixty per cent) segments of well travelled routes. The first is the section from a point in the western half of Big Trout Lake to the east to Wapekeka Lake, and the second section is from Severn Lake west of Big Trout Lake west to Bearskin Lake.

There are two heavily utilized routes from Big Trout Lake to Severn Lake which together would fall within the thirty-one to fifty per cent category. The route north of Wapekeka Lake along the Fawn River to just north of Atikameg Lake is within the thirty-one to fifty per cent use category.

There are nine routes leading to distant communities not marked on this map. In clockwise order these distant places are: Winisk and Fort Severn, via the Severn and Fawn Rivers; Winisk via the Ashweig-Winisk Rivers; Ogoki; Pickle Lake and Osnaburgh House; Sioux Lookout; MacDowell Lake; Island Lake; and God's Lake. The latter six communities and towns are all reached by a complicated network of rivers, lakes and portages.

A number of interesting features should be noted on this summer route map. First of all there is a strong lateral route orientation between Big Trout Lake and Bearskin lake leading further to Island Lake, northwards to God's Lake and yet further northwards to the Severn River leading to Fort Severn.

A second feature is the importance of the Sachigo and Severn routes which conjoin at a traditional meeting place for the Big Trout Lake and coastal peoples.

Routes to Kasabonika, Long Dog Lake, Kingfisher Lake and Wunnummin Lake are utilized but these routes would seem to be more important to people of these communities than to the population in Big Trout Lake.

Winter Travel Routes

The data collected in order to compile this map , was and is, most impressive in both its original and composite stages. This is perhaps one of the most complex maps in this series.

The five areas of more concentrated utilization by five sets of patronymic groupings is to be noted on this map as well. Each is marked by a concentration of higher use routes surrounded by lower intensity routes thinning out to the limits.

The second area noted for its concentration of trapping and hunting activity is a little lower in intensity of route utilization, though the Fawn River-Otter River area is well intersected by a network of rivers and dog-team/skidoo routes in the six to fifteen per cent range. In this area there is one route which is a little more unusual than the rest as it is markedly diagonal and straight going from Wapekeka Lake diagonally across the Otter River to just south of Ghost Lake. This route is a skidoo/snowshoe/dog team route. There are a number of these routes in other areas, and they are particularly noticeable for their directness and inattention to local rivers.

The third area is around Long Dog Lake. The fourth is south of Big Trout Lake from Lake Nemeigusabins to the Bug River-

Mishwamakan River area. The Bug River is particularly heavily utilized, just under one-half of the households interviewed travelled along this route at some time during the winter season. The Mishwamakan River is utilized by sixteen to thirty per cent of the households interviewed.

There are at least three major routes to the fifth area. Each one of these three subsequently thins out beyond Dinwiddie and Misikeyask Lakes to aggregate once more in the Thorne River and Sachigo River area.

Characteristic of this community is the concentration of exit routes and subsequent dispersement. Another feature of the Big Trout Lake winter routes is their concentration beyond the limits of the higher intensity utilization of land categories. This may attest to visiting between trapping and hunting units in the winter, or to the fact that there might be a fair bit of travel through neighbouring territories in order to get to other territory, or some such combination of both.

Another characteristic is the detailed trapline activity in other homelands both within and outside of the Kayahna Tribal Region. Winter routes are detailed for activity in the Pehdahbin, Windigo and Wolf Regions.

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The Witegoo-Goose River area has a number of six to fifteen per cent use routes which aggregate alone one section of the Witegoo River to double the intensity of use.

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Overall Land Utilization

A number of features remarked upon above are represented on this map as well. The orientation of the Big Trout Lake lands is from south-west to north-east. The eleven to thirty per cent utilization of land category is probably the best indicator of the maximal extent of the Big Trout Lake homelands. The importance of the outlying, lower intensity use lands should not be diminished. The extent of these lands is conditioned by historical and social factors particular to Big Trout Lake.

Many of the less than eleven per cent use areas are still utilized by the contemporary population and this continuing utilization attests to the vast social network maintained by the Big Trout Lake population in order to gain and retain access to these lands.

Though the lower utilization figure area does overlap significantly with homelands properly belonging to other

communities, the next higher percentage of utilization area is noteworthy for its exclusivity. Except for marked overlap with the Wapekeka Lake community there is very little if any overlap of this area with the homelands of the other Kayahna Tribal communities.

It was noted above that Wapekeka patronymic groups are heavily inter-married with several principal Big Trout Lake patronymic groups and this accounts for the high degree of coincidence between lands used by populations from both communities.

The high concentration of utilization of the Bug River area should be noted as well as the high concentration of use of positions of the lake of Big Trout.

Reading the Maps-Kasabonika Lake

The community of Kasabonika is an old well established community, to be notably differentiated from the more recent communities such as Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake. The fact of a stable population (numerically and in composition) always having been in residence for at least part of the year in this location attests to the strikingly different look of the land utilization maps for this community.

This community has a long history going back to the fur-trade period in the north-west part of Ontario. At that time the settlement had had a palisade encircling it.

These maps were collected in 1979, and cover the years

from 1925 to 1979. Twenty-nine households were interviewed and this represents approximately eighty per cent of the households in the community of Kasabonika.

Trapping Intensity

A different pattern of trapping activity from that observed for the other Kayahna Region communities can be observed on this trapping intensity map for Kasabonika Lake. Kasabonika Lake is comparable in population size to Wunnummin Lake and Kingfisher Lake. The most interesting aspect of this trapping intensity map is the extremely high degree of trapping intensity (over sixty per cent of the households) in a concentric circle immediately surrounding the lakes of Kasabonika and Shibongama. Furthermore, a high intensity of trapping activity is expressed on the map in a still wider oval where between thirty-one to sixty per cent of the households trap.

Eleven to thirty per cent of the households trap in an area abutting the territories of Wunnummin Lake and Webequie in the south and overlap with the trapping territories of Long Dog Lake, Wapekeka Lake and Big Trout Lake.

The lowest category of land utilization is irregularly shaped and represents the trapping areas utilized by one to three households over the last fifty-five years, whereas the highest intensity of trapping activity for the other Kayahna region communities tends to be within the eleven to thirty per cent range, and would seem to be the optimum range for favourable trapping returns. The concentration of trapping in well defined

circles and ovals around Kasabonika Lake is also conditioned by optimal trapping returns, but has to be understood or explained in terms of the particular kinship and affinal arrangements that have developed within this community.

It has to be stressed that the compilation method used for this series of maps records intensity of utilization as a function of the degree of overlapping activity within any particular geographical area. It does not record or give any indication of how much activity takes place within each region or trapping area if it is used only by a single household, no matter how intensive their use is of this area. For example, a territory utilized by a single household on a yearly basis is recorded in the lowest intensity category, whereas if a territory is utilized by six households over twenty years this territory will be designated in a higher intensity utilization category.

The nature of the highly uniform kinship and affinal network of the community of Kasabonika Lake is such that there is a tremendous overlap in land utilization because an individual may use many different territories over his lifetime. The maps are not an indication of the higher yields of the land, nor are they an indication of the higher intensity of utilization possible in this region (in fact it is not) what the maps do indicate is the different nature of trapping organization that is possible in this community and the maps are a reflection of this difference.

The kinship and affinal network of Kasabonika Lake is of note as it consists of a set of patrilocally linked households of the same patronym and which constitutes the core of

the community structure. A number of other patronymic groups are inter-married into this core at the fourth ascending generation level and once again at the first ascending generation level. Therefore, though these individuals have married core patronym spouses, they themselves are not peripheral to the core but rather are equally as related to the core but through the matrilinear side and therefore through marriage are re-integrated into the core group. In fact, in Kasabonika Lake of the twenty-nine households interviewed, only two were not related to the core set of families within the first or second degree.

All the trapping households interviewed, except for two, are either parallel or cross-cousin of the first degree, or, exclusively parallel cousins of the second degree. They form a co-operating and interactive set of trappers and hunters and fishermen. In essence a pool of potential partners for one another. There are separations within this core, but the nature of the divisions is not at all evident on the overall activity maps but has to be glimpsed from the detailed individual household maps.

Given the close fraternal core present in Kasabonika Lake, a number of co-operative economic associations are open to individuals. That is, all the core trappers within certain limits of amicability and household preferences have available to them an array of possible trapping partners. Indeed, individual trappers do take advantage of this situation. Every core trapper utilizes a minimum of two discretely different territories, and on average about six different territories.

As there is a great deal of movement within the

Kasabonika homeland, trapping arrangements are sorted out late in the summer in order to avoid unnecessary overlapping use of territories.

Individual territories are characteristically circular cutting across a number of patch types, and the sizes of the territories utilized are within the range found for the other Kayahna communities. In this respect the trapping pattern of Kasabonika is identical to that found elsewhere in the region.

The thirty-one to sixty per cent area of utilization could be said to be the heartland of Kasabonika trapping utilization. This area is quite exclusive of the homelands of the neighbouring communities, notably its closest neighbour, Wapekeka Lake.

All of the households have links and alliances to households in other communities and this accounts for the access to and utilization of lands in the neighbouring and more distant communities. The range of distant communities is nevertheless circumscribed to Bearskin Lake to the far west and Lansdowne House to the far south.

The general picture of trapping utilization in this community- and one that is duplicated in all the other activities-is one of strong control over the community's homelands; limited external associations; and closest contacts are maintained with four of the Kayahna Region communities: Big Trout Lake, Wapekeka Lake, Long Dog Lake and Wunnummin Lake.

Hunting Intensity

The same principles of utilization which were noted for trapping operate in the utilization of hunting territories, especially since the two activities are often integrated. People hunt while they trap and vice-versa.

Two features of this map should be noted. The first is that there is a marked preference for hunting to the north of the community site beyond the limits of the trapping territories used. It should be noted that no hunting is recorded for taking place in the area around the Sachigo-Severn River confluence; an area of importance to the Big Trout Lake people.

Secondly, the hunting territory does not extend as far west as does the trapping territory. A number of the household maps clearly indicate that individuals did not venture further than mid-way into Big Trout Lake, and that they do not use the Bug River-Mishawamakan River area. This latter is interesting as this region is heavily used by Big Trout Lake and Wapekeka Lake households, and it would seem that the Kasabonika households neither seek nor gain access to these regions. To the far west of Kasabonika Lake there is a long oblong area of hunting (which goes off the hunting intensity map) within the Bearskin Lake homeland.

Thirdly, utilization of lands in the eleven to thirty per cent category to the east of Big Trout Lake and in the homeland of Wapekeka Lake is an indication of the stronger connection between this community and the latter communities, than with any other Kayahna region communities. An equally strong connection can be noted between a number of the Kasabonika households and Webequie to the south-east.

Fishing Intensity

In terms of fishing there is a strong dependency for both domestic consumption and commercial sale upon the two major lakes within the Kasabonika Lake homeland. These two lakes are Kasabonika Lake and Shibongama Lake. There are three areas of particularly heavy utilization within these two lake areas.

In addition to the above there are three other locations of high utilization: along the Ashweig River before it enters into Lake Kasabonika; north of Shibongama Lake; and northwest of Croal Lake.

It would appear that the lakes and rivers to the south and west of Kasabonika are more important than the lakes to the north and east. The lakes to the south and west are deeper and larger than those to the north and east, where more of a lowland type drainage prevails.

Two rivers are of particular importance for fishing. They are the Fawn River and Ashweig-Winisk River system.

Apart from fishing on the two major lakes all other fishing occurs within the context of the winter trapline or summer travel. Fishing on the larger two lakes takes place throughout the year, except for commercial fishing which takes place in the late summer and early fall.

Several lakes are utilized that are neither within winter traplines nor within hunting areas. These are Wunnummin Lake, Mameigweiss Lake, Shallows Lake and small sections of the upper part of the Severn River. These are fished in conjunction

with travelling.

Summer Travel Routes

The summer travel route map indicates a strong east-west orientation of travel routes. In comparison to the summer routes of neighbouring communities there is surprisingly very little travel apart from the very heavy utilization of the single route to Big Trout Lake. Every single household interviewed has utilized and continues to utilize the route between the eastern end of Shibongama Lake to Post Island in Big Trout Lake. This is not a direct route along a river, but a somewhat complicated one involving a number of portages. The importance of maintaining this connection overrides any inconvenience in the travel between these communities.

Other routes taken in the summer time are secondary to the major one. One of the more important ones is a portion of the Ashweig River from Shibongama Lake to just south of Sourdough Rapids.

Long distance travel is limited to Fort Severn to the north, to Muskrat Dam to the west and to Lansdowne House to the south. The limited external travel replicated the pattern noted for the economic activities of staying within the primary and secondary homelands of Kasabonika Lake.

Winter Travel Routes

The winter travel routes are primarily trapline routes

and as such they underscore a number of the trapping idiosyncracies that were noted for the trapping intensity map.

The routes are characterized by a strong south-west to north-east orientation. Routes leading to the north, south and east of the Kasabonika-Shibongama Lakes are more heavily used than routes to the west.

The limit of the six to fifteen per cent intensity of utilization tends also to be the limit of the homeland area most heavily and intensively utilized by the interviewed households. It is interesting to note that routes closer to the Otter River area (the main homeland area of the Wapekeka Lake residents) thin out completely, as well as to the west (along the north shore of Big Trout Lake) the primary area of activity for the Big Trout Lake peoples, and to the south-west, the Wunnummin Lake homeland area.

Just as the Fawn-Otter Rivers are important to the Wapekeka Lake peoples, and the Severn River is important to the residents from Big Trout Lake, the Ashweig-Winisk Rivers are important to the Kasabonika Lake residents.

In addition to the kinship and affinal connections with Big Trout Lake and Wapekeka Lake being apparent but limited to the west of Kasabonika Lake, there are a few more similar additional connections being maintained with segments of three other communities: Long Dog Lake, Nibinamik and Webequie, all to the south of Kasabonika Lake.

Overall Land Utilization

When all the Kasabonika land activities are collected onto a single map several patterns emerge. Essentially, the orientation of the Kasabonika Lake homeland is centered like an oblong on the two lakes of Kasabonika-Shibongama, rather than on the community of Kasabonika Lake. This orientation is due to the historical pattern of land utilization within the area. The creation of the fur trading and residential centre of Kasabonika Lake has not affected the direction or location of land utilization activities. That this pattern of trapping, hunting and fishing has been maintained is significant. There is no perceptible western shift of the more recently used territories, closer to the settlement site.

There is a more extensive but less intensive reliance upon the lands to the north and north-east of the community site in contrast to the utilization of lands in the other directions around Kasabonika Lake.

Not to be forgotten is the fact that this was an established community site prior to the signing of the treaty adhesion in 1930, hence, there was little perceived need for families to move to Big Trout Lake, and this is reflected in the virtual absence of the utilization of far-flung territories.

Reading the Maps-Long Dog Lake

The community of Long Dog Lake is a very small, new settlement which is occupied semi-annually by one-half of its residents. One-half of the households, particularly the younger households reside for part of the year in either Big Trout Lake,

or Kasabonika or Wapekeka Lake depending upon the nature of the familial connections of each family unit. The connection of a number of Long Dog Lake households to households in neighbouring communities has been reflected in the utilization by neighbouring households of lands in and around the Long Dog Lake area. This was noted on the Big Trout Lake, Wunnummin Lake, Wapekeka Lake and Kasabonika Lake maps. Reciprocally, the Long Dog Lake maps reflect these associations with members from neighbouring communities particularly with Wapekeka Lake, Kasabonika Lake and Big Trout Lake.

Six households maps were collected from this settlement in 1979, and they span the land utilization and occupancy practices for the previous fifty-five years, from 1925 to 1979.

It should also be noted that though Long Dog Lake is a new permanent site it is not a new community gathering place. It had been a well-known meeting place for those groups utilizing the lands in the vicinity of Long Dog Lake.

When looking at the Long Dog Lake maps it should be remembered that the intensities denote the specific numbers of households utilizing lands and not percentages as is the case for all the other maps in the series.

Trapping Intensity

The six interviewed households utilize a very dispersed set of territories. The fact that all of the residents had at one time lived full-time either in Big Trout Lake, Kasabonika

Lake or in Wapekeka Lake accounts for the dispersed nature of the land utilization.

Included in this composite is a household which does not reside at Long Dog Lake. At the time of the interviews this household was visiting in Long Dog Lake with the wife's family. They had not been long at Long Dog Lake, and had not partaken of any extensive land utilization in the Long Dog Lake area. This household does not have any land utilization activities- within the Long Dog- area marked on the Long Dog map. What is marked on the composite is this household's Big Trout Lake land utilization. These lands are to the north-west of Big Trout Lake around Misikeyask Lake and to the far north-west around Ellard and Withers Lakes.

All the other lands in the Long Dog Area are utilized by kinsmen and affines related to a brother and sister sibling core. This core of kinsmen and affines co-operates in the utilization of lands around Long Dog Lake.

The lands utilized within the homelands of Kasabonika, Wapekeka and Big Trout Lakes are utilized through partnerships with kinsmen resident in these settlements. Two of the households have kinsmen in Wapekeka Lake and so trap around the Otter River and the Bug-Mishwamakan Rivers. One household has kinship connections with Kasabonika Lake and two households have connections with both Big Trout Lake and Kasabonika Lake. Given this close interaction with members of other communities, there is a fair degree of overlap of the Long Dog Lake homeland with those of the surrounding communities. Thus the Long Dog Lake homeland is not well delineated from the homeland of the other

communities. It is expected that a clearer delineation will develop as a more permanent population is established at Long Dog Lake.

Hunting Intensity

The hunting composite map shows an enlarged area utilized for hunting in comparison to the trapping map. The area between the Frog and Otter Rivers is a secondary area of hunting preference for one-half of the households.

Fishing Intensity

All six households utilize Big Trout Lake and fish both for domestic consumption and commercial sale of the fish on this lake.

As the community of Long Dog Lake is not always occupied in the summer by all six households, the utilization of the lake of Long Dog tends to be in the fall, winter and spring with only sporadic utilization in the summer. For this reason only four households consistently utilize Long Dog Lake for fishing.

The Bug-Mishwamakan Rivers are important fishing areas for those households with kinship connections with both Wapekaka Lake and Big Trout Lake.

There are a number of widely dispersed small lakes and segments of rivers that are fished on traplines. The lakes of Kasabonika and Shibongama are utilized by only one household.

Summer Travel Routes

For this composite there were only five household route maps. These five individual maps were exclusively of people resident in Long Dog Lake.

This map is illustrative of the yearly movement of peoples. In the late spring several of the households move to Wapekeka Lake for the duration of the hot summer and return to Long Dog Lake in the late fall in time for the trapping season. This pattern is reflected in the heavy traffic between Wapekeka Lake and Big Trout Lake, as opposed to the lesser traffic between Long Dog Lake and any one of the northern neighbouring communities. Each route from Long Dog Lake north is of single individuals.

For the few families who do remain within the vicinity of Long Dog Lake, they utilize a section of the Ashweig River to the west of the community, notably for sturgeon and trout fishing.

There are two routes south of Long Dog Lake, one to the Obustiga Lake region to meet with the road which leads to Osnaburgh House and Pickle Lake, and the other route is to Lansdowne House. The former route was taken to to visit with North Caribou Lake, Windigo Lake and Osnaburgh House peoples and also to seek work at the mine and the latter was to visit with family and friends.

From the Big Trout Lake-Wapekeka Lake axis there are five routes that have been travelled by one to three households

at most. A portion of the Otter River east of Wapekeka Lake is travelled by three households as are sections of the Lake of Big Trout. Two individuals travelled along the Bug River for fishing. Two travelled to Bearskin Lake and two travelled down the Fawn River to just past the Crandall Falls, and another two households travelled from Wapekeka Lake to Kasabonika Lake. There are three routes which have been travelled by single individuals from different households: one to Round Lake (Weagamow Lake); one to Ellard Lake near the Manitoba border; and another from the north-west corner of Big Trout Lake through a number of portages north to the Severn River and down the Severn River to Fort Severn. One individual portaged from the Fawn River north to join the Severn River to reach Fort Severn. The Fawn River-Severn River routes are very frequently used.

The Long Dog Lake travel routes indicate a preference for east-west travel in the summer. There is more movement of Long Dog Lake peoples between Wapekeka Lake and Big Trout Lake than between Long Dog Lake or Wapekeka Lake and Kasabonika Lake or to any of the Kayahna communities to the south.

Winter Travel Routes

The winter travel routes are equally illustrative of the seasonal movements of the Long Dog Lake people. On this map there is no travel at all between Wapekeka Lake and Big Trout Lake. The most heavily used travel routes are from Big Trout Lake south towards the Long Dog Lake homelands, and within the Long Dog Lake homeland.

One trapline between the Fawn and Otter River is well used, and another four radiating out from the Ashweig River north-east of Long Dog Lake, at the north-western edge of Kasabonika Lake homelands are also used by half of the households. The Bug-Mishwamakan River area is used by two households.

The three areas to the west and far west of Big Trout Lake were utilized by the visiting household. The lands along the Sachigo River were used by a Long Dog Lake resident.

The actual trapline routes are clearly seen on this map and they show the average length travelled in one loop. The cutting across of river and small creeks is quite evident here as well. The loops become larger in the 'upper' lowlands to the north of Long Dog Lake. Winter travel is not as conditioned by the location of rivers and creeks and many of the routes are straight across land. (This is rather clear evidence of the influence of the skidoo in these northern regions) The route from Big Trout Lake to the Witegoo River is a good example of a snowshoe or skidoo route.

The concentration of the routes in and around Long Dog Lake, but also to a fair degree in two other homelands, indicates the yet unformed quality about the Long Dog Lake homelands. This does not mean that this homeland does not exist, but rather that conditions such as the availability of partners, or costs of outfitting restrain the exclusive use of Long Dog Lake lands. Thus these lands have to be used in combination with lands to which the households have access elsewhere. As Long Dog Lake achieves a more permanent and larger population the intensity and

extensiveness of land utilization around Long Dog Lake will undoubtedly increase. It is anticipated that an extension of Long Dog Lake land utilization will to some extent be made at the expense of the neighbouring homelands of Kasabonika and Wapekeka Lakes. One can project that there will no longer be three intensive areas of utilization by Long Dog Lake households but one that is intensively utilized and which will overlap in a continuous and characteristic fashion with those of the neighbouring settlements.

Overall Land Utilization

The importance of Big Trout Lake to the Long Dog Lake households for fishing is clearly indicated as all five households (plus the Big Trout Lake households) utilize the lake throughout the year.

The homeland of Long Dog Lake is elliptical in shape closely intertwined on the northern edges with the outer edges of the Wapekeka and Kasabonika Lakes homelands. On the Big Trout Lake overall land utilization map we noted how narrow the strip of land utilization was to the east of Big Trout Lake. The narrowness was due to the fact that within five to six miles of the lake start the Long Dog Lake homelands.

The Long Dog Lake homeland is somewhat exclusive along the western and southern boundaries which articulate rather well with the boundaries of Big Trout Lake and Wunnummin Lake respectively. There is markedly less articulation of the Long Dog Lake homeland to the north.

The other or external lands trapped and hunted by the Long Dog Lake residents are of considerable importance to their total survival, as it is not always possible to utilize one's own lands. Here again the flexibility and incorporative qualities of the hunting and trapping system are expressed. At the same time, the pressure of the new (settled) community is to create lands which are defined and exclusive, by virtue of the fact that there is a fixed population which is using these lands in a consistent fashion. This notion of exclusivity is quite different from excluding others from access to utilizing these lands.

Reading the Maps---Fort Severn

The Fort Severn maps were collected and compiled in 1981, and span a fifty six year segment of the community's land utilization. This community has the longest recorded history of all the Kayahna region communities. The Fort location dates back to 1756 when the Hudson Bay Company attempted to secure its existing line of forts along the Bay.

There are two related but differentially utilizing populations in the Fort Severn community. The one population is coastally oriented and the other is inland oriented. These two segments of the population are intermarried and inter-related, in many significant ways and do constitute an integrated population. However, traditionally their land utilization practices have shown an orientation towards either the coast or the inland regions which is noticeable on the maps to this day. The coastal groups are oriented towards York Factory, whereas the

inland groups are oriented towards the Sachigo Lake, Big Trout Lake and Shamattawa communities.

On all these maps for the Fort Severn community, land utilization activities all stop most abruptly at the Manitoba border. People interviewed perceived the border as a barrier to their land utilization of lands within Manitoba, though quite obviously from the direction of the of the utilization it does continue into Manitoba lands. It is roughly estimated that a further one-third to one-quarter of lands are utilized by Fort Severn Peoples within Manitoba, in addition to the lands that are utilized in Northern Ontario.

It should be noted that all the Fort Severn households were interviewed. For this community we have a remarkably full account of the recent history of land utilization and occupancy.

Trapping Intensity

The trapping activities of the population of Fort Severn are quite different from those noted for the other six Kayahna Region communities. The occupied and utilized lands are quite extensive in area, as they hypothetically include quite a bit more land further west. Within the larger area there are five distinct regional utilizations of land controlled by five sets of domestic units which together comprise the two groups of the Fort Severn Community.

Within the larger Coastal group there are two coastal sub-groups who utilize portions of the coast and portions of land inland from the coast. The one sub-group utilizes lands along

the coast adjacent to north of the mouth of the Severn River, and inland areas north-west of the Pipowitan River. The second utilizes lands south of the mouth of the Severn River and lands in areas around the Goose and Beavertrap Creeks.

There are three inland sub-groups. The first of these sub-groups utilizes lands to the south of the more northerly coastal group. These lands are encircling the headwaters of the Niskibi, Beaver and Beaverstone Rivers. There is some overlap in the utilization of the lands around the Niskibi River with the first coastal group.

The second sub-group utilizes lands around the confluence of the Severn and Sachigo Rivers. The third sub-group utilizes lands further to the east around a number of larger tributaries flowing in to the Fawn River such as the Poplar and Sugar Rivers and the Pitticow River.

Given the low carrying capacity of the land, the trapping lands are dispersed very widely (nearly double those encountered further inland) and are utilized on a long rotational cycle. These features account for the overlap in utilization by the individual trappers.

The coastal region is the most intensively utilized, and over half the trappers use this area specifically to hunt or trap seals, white and silver fox. On occasion fur-bearers are trapped by members from other coastal settlements while in transit along the coast.

If one compares the hunting map with the trapping one there are a few differences in the extent of lands utilized to be observed. For example less of the Sachigo and Hayhurst Rivers are utilized. The reason for this is that hunting is more localized as the primary species of the northern hunt is caribou. The determinate aspect of caribou movement localizes hunting activity into three general areas. The first is south of the confluence of the Sachigo and Severn Rivers. The second is north of the confluence, and the third is north of the Beaver River and towards the coast between the Niskibi River and Manitoba border.

Included in hunting activities is fowling. The importance of fowling is shown in the high concentration of this activity at the mouth of the Severn River and to the north of it. The hunting activity around the confluence of the Sachigo and Severn Rivers is not due to caribou hunting but rather due to the hunting of ducks and geese either along the rivers, or from specially constructed blinds along the banks.

Fishing Intensity

All the households interviewed fished for at least a segment of the year, which was most usually in the winter on the trapline. In the summer most of the small creeks and lakes are too shallow and unusable for fishing. Thus in the summer fishing is restricted to the larger rivers such as the Severn, Sachigo, Fawn and Winisk Rivers. All fishing is for domestic consumption. Fishing was extremely important up to about twenty years ago as fish was the main source of food for the dogs used on the dog

teams. At present, few dogs are kept for trapping purposes, but those that are still used are fed with fish. Fishing is used to supplement the diet in the winter, but few families subsist on fishing for the entire year as is the case in several of the more southerly communities.

Summer Travel Routes

Summer routes indicate a heavy concentration of travel to Winisk along the coast and up the Severn River to the old reserve site. There is a most heavy use of and dependency upon the rivers for long distance travel to Winisk and to the headwaters of the tributaries of the Severn River in order to meet with groups from inland communities.

The coastal routes are also very important for travel to York Factory and Winisk.

The summer routes include very late spring travel routes from the trapline. For example, the smaller rivers flowing into the Beaver River and several south of the Severn River near the coast are spring return routes.

Winter Travel Routes

The interesting feature of the Fort Severn winter route map is that the three most heavily utilized routes are the same as those which are the most heavily utilized in the summer. There are several parallel routes to each of York Factory and Winisk. These are all along beach ridges.

The five sub-areas of utilization can be discerned from this map. The northern coastal and inland area is heavily criss-crossed by both river and land travel. The second coastal area to the south of the Severn River is also well defined by travel routes.

The inland area north and west of the Beaver River is reached by a number of straight overland routes. These straight routes are intersected by routes which are for trapping alone.

The confluence of the Sachigo and Severn Rivers is a point of departure for the second inland sub-group.

The third area between the Poplar and Pitticow Rivers is reached by either indirect routes from Fort Severn or up the Severn River and across the Rocksands River to the Poplar River area.

Also noteworthy on this map is the fact that the trapping routes within the traplines are with few exceptions rivers and creeks. This pattern of trapping is quite different from that noted for the interior.

In contrast to the other Kayahna communities, winter travel is as extensive as the summer travel. In the winter, households travel to distant communities such as Shamattawa, York Factory and Winisk.

Overall Land Utilization

The combined land utilization and occupancy map for Fort Severn indicates the very heavy dependency upon specific economic activities such as premium fur trapping, fowling and

fishing along the coast both north and south of the community site. The high rate of dependency upon the coastal region is extended to the north and past the Ontario-Manitoba border. Other concentrations in the thirty-one to sixty per cent range, north of the Beaver River, reflect the trapping and hunting overlap of a number of inland and coastal families.

The thirty-one to sixty per cent intensity use area around the old Fort Severn reserve site is an indication of the convergence of a number of households utilizing the more southerly and inland areas, and who fish and hunt en route to their lands, or, enroute to Fort Severn.

North of the fifty-fourth parallel trapping lands increase in area, in an attempt on the part of trappers and hunters, to secure relatively stable and secure returns. Given these ecological concerns trapping activity is wide ranging and expresses very little overlap.

For the lands noted on this map there is a high degree of exclusivity of utilization by Fort Severn families. There is virtually no overlap between the Fort Severn under eleven per cent utilization category and other homelands adjoining these lands. The under eleven per cent category of land therefore, can be used as an indication of the limit of Fort Severn homelands. The eleven to thirty per cent areas (of which there are five) define the more popular areas because of their accessibility, presence of larger rivers and overlapping activities of pairs of siblings. However these latter five areas cannot be taken as an indication of the Fort Severn homelands as all trappers utilize substantially more land in addition to these 'overlap' lands.

The maximal extent of land in a more probable definal limit of the Fort Severn homeland.

Combined Land Utilization Map for the Kayahna Region Communities

The combined map represents the total land utilization of all two hundred and three households interviewed in the Kayahna Region. Though the objective of the map was to indicate the extent of and importance of the land to these seven communities, there are probably a number of cautions that must be heeded in reading such a map.

When all the activities were aggregated, the intensity of land utilization of a large community such as Big Trout Lake gained an equivalence with the intensity of land utilization of a small hamlet such as Long Dog Lake. The map aggregate makes no explanation of, nor does it compensate for, the variable productivity of the land so that a community such as Fort Severn is seen to be a less intensive utilizer (which is not the case) of the land than the Big Trout Lake, Kasabonika Lake, Long Dog Lake and Wapekeka Lake set of communities. The fact that Big Trout Lake may be overcrowded and that the utilization of lands around Wunnummin Lake or around Kingfisher Lake approach the optimum is also not indicated.

The way to read this map is to regard the high concentration areas as significant areas to the communities concerned, and the lower intensity use areas as areas of optimum trapping and hunting efficacy. It should be remembered that the lowest intensity use areas are utilized by one to ten households.

From this map the historical centrality of Big Trout Lake is made quite obvious, as so many of its lands have been utilized (and to a much lesser extent) continue to be utilized by households now resident in newly settled neighbouring communities.

The relative newness of Wunnummin and Kingfisher Lake as settlements is indicated by the more restricted and contained land utilization in comparison to communities of comparable size (e.g. Wapekeka Lake). It should be remembered that many of these residents had formerly utilized Big Trout Lake lands.

Long Dog Lake, though it is also a new settlement is subsumed under the land utilization of surrounding communities.

Lands that are left open to the north-west of Big Trout Lake and to the south-west are areas utilized by adjacent settlements such as Sachigo Lake, Bearskin Lake and Weagamow Lake respectively.

The utilization of land to the north and to the east of Osnaburgh House is an indication of the importance of land utilization accessibility through familial connections while men sought employment in the gold mines which operated in Pickle Lake.

Extended visiting by and of kinsmen accounts for many of the circular and pendular shaped lands utilized to the west of the Sachigo River and around Sachigo Lake, around Cat Lake and around Lansdowne House. The lands used about Winisk were utilized by a single household which is now fully resident in Fort Severn.

The map is most impressive in the extent of land

utilized over the last fifty to fifty-five years by the households concerned, and the extent of land required to effectively secure a living from the land.

FOOTNOTES

1. In volume 3 of the Inuit report, there is a single paper on Inuit social life which describes in general terms the flexibility of Inuit social organization (Guemple 1976:181-186). In the Dene reports there are several anthropological papers on specific communities, but they are not tied to the mapped data (Asch 1976; Rushforth 1976). The compiled mapped data has not yet been published.

2. Anishnawbe-Aski is the name the Indian peoples of North-western Ontario have adopted for themselves out of a recognition of the colonial overtones associated with 'Cree' and 'Ojibwa'. The name was formally adopted in 1977 by the Chiefs of Grand Council Treaty No. 9, in "A Declaration of Anishnawbe-Aski by the Ojibway-Cree Nation of Treaty #9 to The People of Canada." The Declaration was presented to Premier William Davis July 6, 1977.

Anishnawbe is the 'Ojibwa' word for people, and aski is the 'Cree' word for land. Together they mean 'the people and the land are one'. The 'Cree' word for people is innew, or, illililew (n and l dialects respectively), and the 'Ojibwa' word for land is uhke. These latter two words are difficult to pronounce together, therefore, the former was preferred.

3. "With bilateral systems - at least with the Northern Ojibwa - the emphasis on reciprocity through exchange seems unjustified. In these circumstances I submit the concept of reciprocity through exchange of women, even through a stretch of time, is not applicable. The emphasis should be put upon the kinship group itself as defined by the incest taboo". (Dunning 1959a:201).

4. Trapline registration began in 1947 in Northern Ontario and progressed further north each year until all of the north was covered.

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APPENDIX II

RENEWABLE RESOURCES IN KAYAHNA:

PAST AND FUTURE

FINAL REPORT

JANE HENSON

AUGUST 1981

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2. Sectors of the Local Economy

2.1: Subsistence and Commercial Trapping

2.1.1 Historical Overview

Historically, there have been a number of factors affecting the operation of the fur trade. (Some of these will be discussed in greater detail in the section, 2.1.6, The Hudson's Bay Company). On the supply side, competition among the Bay, the North West Company and independent traders, at least until the merger of the two companies in 1821, worked in the Indians' favour to increase the price paid to them for their furs. Technological improvements in trapping and transportation (from the canoe to the York boat to the airplane, for example) increased the extent and intensity of trapping and resulted in a greater supply of pelts. On the other hand, such pressure on the resource base led to a decrease in stocks with the inevitable imposition of government quotas, and licensing. In Ontario, those laws were first imposed in the early 1920's. Important factors today include government policies regarding subsidies, and marketing strategies on the part of private companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Ontario Trappers' Association and the Ontario Co-operative Development Association.

On the demand side, there are two externally imposed factors in relationship to the availability of the furs. The first is that the demand for fur is the demand for a luxury product closely associated with the whims and vagaries of the fashion industry

based abroad (mainly in Italy, France and Japan). The second is that the price of fur locally is greatly dependent on the value of the Canadian dollar on the international money markets, which may or may not make Canadian furs competitive with other suppliers as far as foreign buyers are concerned. These are factors over which Native trappers can exert little or no control

The most complete historical study of the extent and impact of trapping is contained in the Big Trout Lake Pilot Study, 1964. Tables in subsequent sections of this report will give information on the contribution and proportion of trapping income in the economic life of Big Trout Lake, which will provide some historical reference points by which to judge the current involvement of Kayahna Area trappers in the sector.

The 1964 Pilot Study contends that with increasing pressure on the resource base which will be brought about by a doubling of the population in 23 years, trappers will be at an economic disadvantage compared with wage workers and the marginally employed. Therefore, it was projected that the wage economy would provide steady employment. This may have been an accurate prediction in the early '60's, following the general collapse of the fur trade and plummeting prices in the 1950's, but subsequent developments have not borne this out, although it is still true that trappers are at an economic disadvantage compared with wage workers and the marginally employed.

The following is an overview of Fur Trade price and profit trends from 1930-1980, compiled from Hudson Bay Company Annual Reports and newspaper clippings.

Overview and Highlights of Fur Trade 1930-1980
(from HBC Annual Reports and Newspaper Clippings)

- 1931 onwards Severe fall in fur prices. Coincided with beaver disease infestation of tulermaria; wartime period 1939-45
- 1952 Prices continuing decline begun in 1950-- some prices actually lower than pre-war levels
- 1955-56 Exceptional year because of increasing prices and demand for mink. Fur trade profits (including operation of Northern Stores) \$1,638,000 in 1955; \$2,142,000 in 1956
- 1959 Higher prices due to increasing demand for furs other than mink--fur trade beginning to recover
- 1961-62 Profits from Northern Stores established new records as a result of profits in auction houses but fur prices and profits decreased. Profits in 1961: \$1,576,000; in 1962: \$1,703,000
- 1963-65 Continuous increase in Northern Stores' sales volume and profits but fur prices remained low during this period as a result of stock market decline
- 1966-68 Fur prices began to rise, but only until 1968 when prices generally decline
- 1969-70 Downturn in fur market began. In 1970, Company's net profit was down 16% for one-half year and that "of this decline 70% was attributable to reduction in fur profits". The Annual Report for 1970 also noted that the greater part of fur volume is in the sale of furs on consignment from the trappers
- 1971-73 Prices begin recovering in January 1971 as a result of strong demand for almost all types of fur, and record prices achieved for many varieties in December, 1973

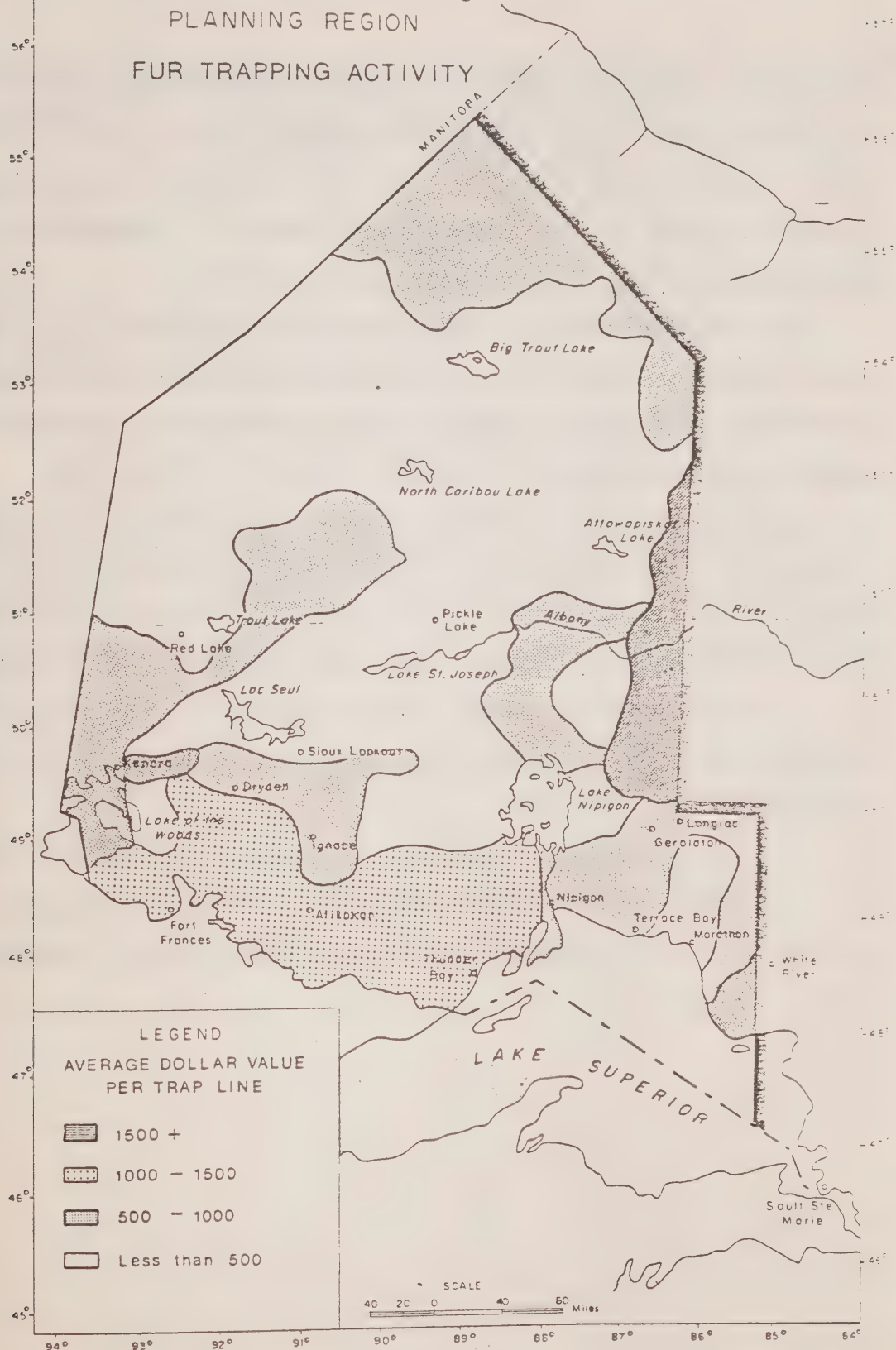
1974, Fall 1975	Long upward trend from 1971 stopped as in 1974 prices for fur begin to fall. Some mink ranchers forced out of business
Fall 1975-79	Continuing upward trend leading to high price levels and record profits. Japanese market increased demand and therefore prices from December 1978 onwards
1980	The first quarter report noted losses as a result of a decline from record price and volume levels in furs, as well as softer retail sales and high interest rates

The MNR map on Fur Trapping Activity 1968-71 indicates that the average dollar value per trap line was under \$500 for the Kayahna Area. (Page 10)

Nevertheless, the 1974 Socio-Economic Inventories give us some raw data from which we can conclude that both commercial and subsistence trapping formed an important economic activity for most of the Kayahna Area communities. Nineteen-seventy-six marked a resurgence in trapping because of continuing high prices; it appears buyers paid exorbitant prices last year, so demand and prices may level off this year. Despite these high prices, it is still the contention of DIA & MNR officials in Sioux Lookout that the fur industry is not being well exploited, and that tighter organization of the industry could benefit the trappers and the communities.

In Kingfisher Lake, a community in which only seven men and women have full-time employment and there is over 50% unemployment (86 people out of a total workforce of 147), trapping engaged a total of 19 people (12 men and 7 women). This involved about

MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES
NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO
PLANNING REGION
FUR TRAPPING ACTIVITY



20 families out of a total of 46 family units. The community was attempting to send most of the husbands out to the traplines which are relatively close to the community, while the children and wives stayed in the community for school. A number of younger people also seemed to be trapping here.

At Long Dog Lake, only two people were employed full-time in a community where 10 out of 20 eligible members of the workforce were unemployed. Trapping involved six men, or approximately six families out of a total number of 10 families.

In Kassabonika, 18 people had full employment (14 men and 4 women) in a community where 109 out of 186 were unemployed. Trapping engaged anywhere from 10 to 20 people, who came from only three families. However, only three were full-time trappers.

In Wunnumun Lake, there were no statistics available for trapping activity, although there was a Band Resource Development Officer for trapping.

In Big Trout Lake, there were no figures for the 1974 period.

In Angling Lake, 10 families were involved in trapping, either as total family units or as individuals (mainly husbands).

TABLE #1: SUMMARY OF 1974 SOCIO-ECONOMIC INVENTORIES RE TRAPPING

COMMUNITY	FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT	UNEMPLOY- MENT	TRAPPERS (FULL & PART TIME)	TRAPPING FAMILIES
Kingfisher	7	86/147 (approx. 50%)	19 (12 M & 7 W)	20/46
Long Dog	2 (1 man & 1 woman)	10/20 50%	6 (men)	6/10
Kassabonika	18 (14 men & 4 women)	109/186 (approx. 59%)	10-20 (3 full-time)	3/78
Angling Lake	N/A	N/A	N/A	10
Wunnumun	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Big Trout Lake	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

2.1.2 Current Extent

For the Kayahna Area as a whole, approximately 360 full-time and part-time trappers are currently in the field; the most recent trend appears to be that more families are moving onto the traplines.

Statistics from Big Trout Lake indicate that the following numbers of full-time trappers and families were subsidized to go out to their traplines:

<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
9 trappers, 6 with families	21 trappers, 9 with families	12 trappers, 8 with families

MNR officials in Sioux Lookout estimate that, in total, \$1,906,575 worth of fur was taken out of the Sioux Lookout District last year, much of which was marketed by the Ontario Trappers' Association headquartered in North Bay. The best prices in the last few years occurred in 1979 (the substantial increase in the number of full-time trappers would reflect this fact).

The following tables are reproduced from the July 1979 Wildlife Technical Report on "The Commercial Fur Industry in the West Patricia Planning Area" to show the extent of trapping in 1976-77. (pages 14-16)

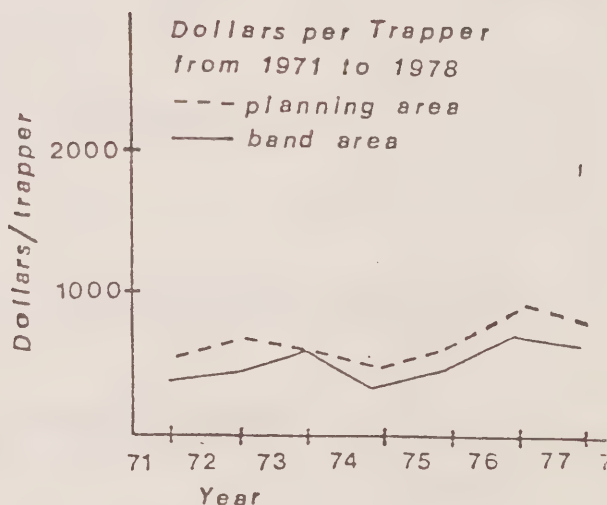
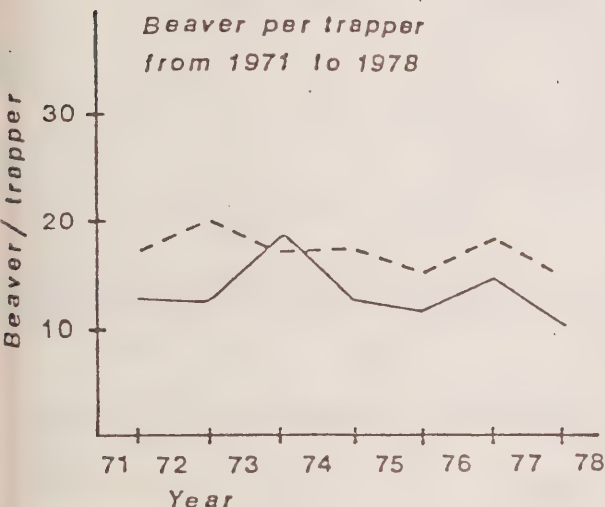
Table 2 on page 17 indicates the level of trapping activity during the 1977-78 season. Table 3 on page 18 shows the gross trapper earnings for the 1978-79 season, and Table 4 on page 19 shows the gross earnings for 1979-80.

1976-77 TRAPPING SEASON - BAND AREA - #38 - BIG BEAVER HOUSE¹

Indian Reserves - Kingfisher Lake (population 198)
 - Wunnumun Lake (population 209)
 - Big Beaver House is abandoned

1976-77 Trapping Season

Number of traplines - 9 (all lines were trapped)
 Number of registered trappers - 92 (13 did not trap)
 Trapper status: treaty
 Value of harvest using OTA average prices - \$57,841
 Dollars per km² - \$6.61/km² (best trapline - \$12/km²)



Numbers of furbearers trapped and sealed in 1976-77:

Beaver	-	1,218	Fisher	-	10
Muskrat	-	1,177	Wolves	-	4
Marten	-	234	Coloured Fox	-	1
Mink	-	279	Squirrel	-	294
Otter	-	121	Weasel	-	51

Notes: This band area has the second highest beaver harvest per km² (.139 beaver/km²) and the second lowest area per trapper (111 km²/trapper).

¹July 1979 Wildlife Technical Report No. 1 "The Commercial Fur Industry in the West Patricia Planning Area", pg. 11

1976-77 TRAPPING SEASON - BAND AREA - #39 - BIG TROUT LAKE¹

Indian Reserves - Big Trout Lake (population 598)
 - Angling Lake (population 143)

1976-77 Trapping Season

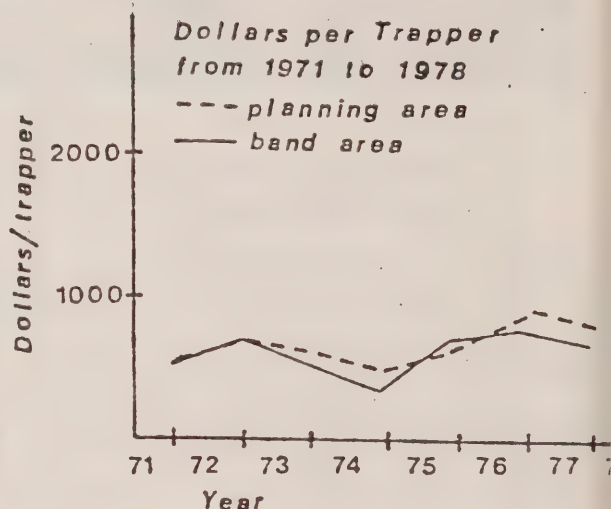
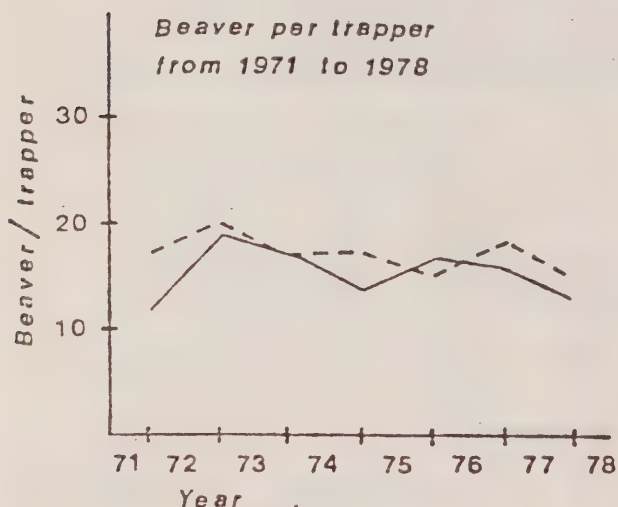
Number of traplines - 11 (all lines were trapped)

Number of registered trappers - 58 (9 did not trap)

Trapper status: treaty

Value of harvest using OTA average prices - \$39,512

Dollars per km² - \$3.17/km² (best trapline - \$7/km²)



Numbers of furbearers trapped and sealed in 1976-77:

Beaver - 781

Lynx - 1

Muskrat - 940

Coloured Fox - 6

Marten - 57

Wolverine - 1

Mink - 163

Squirrel - 20

Otter - 124

Weasel - 16

Fisher - 4

¹July 1979 Wildlife Technical Report No. 1 "The Commercial Fur Industry in the West Patricia Planning Area", pg. 12.

1976-77 TRAPPING SEASON - BAND AREA - #65 - KASSABONIKA¹

Indian Reserve - Kassabonika (population 350)

1976-77 Trapping Season

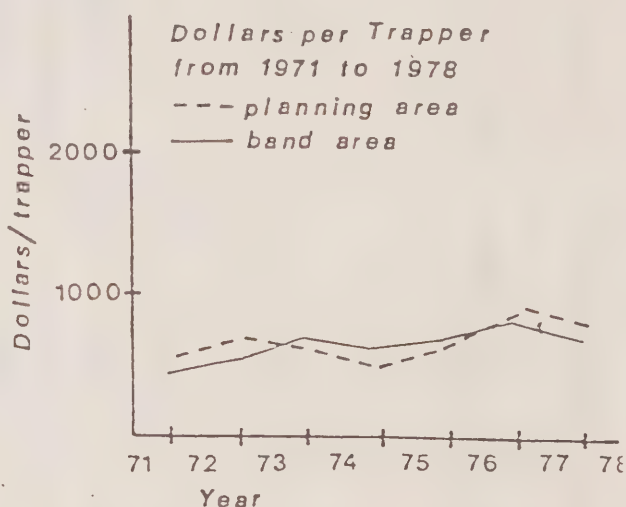
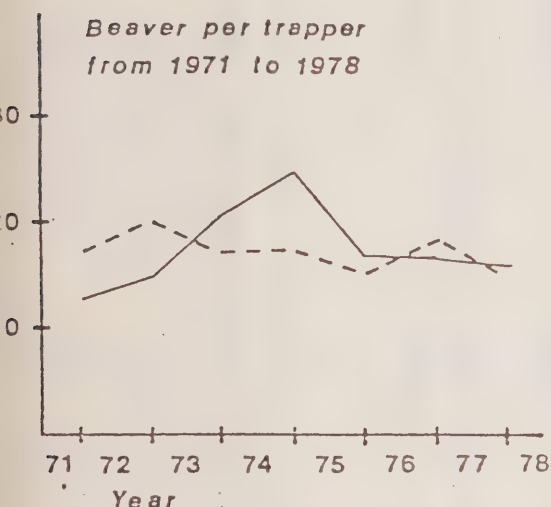
Number of traplines - 6 (all lines were trapped)

Number of registered trappers - 42 (11 did not trap)

Trapper status: treaty

Value of harvest using OTA average prices - \$25,553

Dollars per km² - \$3.97/km² (best trapline - \$8/km²)



Numbers of furbearers trapped and sealed in 1976-77:

Beaver	-	514	Fisher	-	3
Muskrat	-	464	Wolves	-	1
Marten	-	104	Coloured Fox	-	4
Mink	-	110	Squirrel	-	131
Otter	-	70	Weasel	-	20

¹July 1979 Wildlife Technical Report No. 1 "The Commercial Fur Industry in the West Patricia Planning Area", pg. 22.

TRAPPING ACTIVITY DURING THE 1977-78 SEASON¹

Band Area	<u>No. of Trappers</u>		No. of Beaver Trapped	Value of 1977-78 Harvest (all species)	Dollars per Area \$/km ²
	Active	Inactive			
Big Beaver House (Kingfisher & Wunnumun)	80	14	831	\$ 51,819	\$ 5.92
Big Trout Lake (Big Trout Lake & Angling Lake)	54	9	727	38,836	3.11
Kassabonika	33	10	536	23,688	3.68
Totals for Kayahna Area	167	33	2094	\$ 114,343	\$ 4.24/km ²
	Total: 200				
Totals for West Patricia Manning Area	1187	341	17,865	\$ 961,952	\$ 4.28/km ²
	Total: 1,528				(low of \$.77 to high of \$12.38)

¹July 1979, Wildlife Technical Report No. 1, "The Commercial Fur Industry in the West
Patricia Planning Area:", pg. 42.

TABLE #3
GROSS TRAPPER EARNINGS, 1978-79 SEASON
SIOUX LOOKOUT DISTRICT, ECONOMIC & EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT *

Tribal Council Area-Settlement	No. Licenced Trappers	Est. Gross Earnings Based on No. of Species x Average Price	Totals
<u>KAYAHNA AREA</u>			
Big Trout Lake)			
Angling Lake)	104	\$158,371.82	
Wunnumun Lake)			
Kingfisher Lake)	104	129,546.62	
Kassabonika	43	49,886.44	
Fort Severn	55	126,892.66	
TOTAL	306		\$ 464,697.54
Average/Trapper		\$ 1,518.62	
<u>WINDIGO AREA</u>			
	397		\$ 607,113.22
Average/Trapper		\$ 1,529.25	
<u>PEDAHBUN AREA</u>			
	381		\$ 443,308.93
Average/Trapper		\$ 1,163.54	
<u>LAC SEUL</u>			
	67		\$ 38,413.61
Average/Trapper		\$ 573.34	
<u>DISTRICT TOTALS</u>			
1978-79	1151		\$1,553,533.30
Average/Trapper		\$ 1,349.72	

*Information from MNR, Sioux Lookout District Office

GROSS TRAPPER EARNINGS, 1979-80 SEASON
 SIOUX LOOKOUT DISTRICT¹ *

Tribal Council Area-Settlement	No. Licenced Trappers	Estimated Value of Furs	
		Average/Trapper	Total
<u>KAYAHNA AREA</u>			
Big Trout Lake)			
Angling Lake)			
Long Dog Lake)	125	\$ 1,194.75	\$ 149,344.11
Wunnumun Lake)			
Kingfisher Lake)	110	1,052.38	115,761.72
Kassbonika	69	1,082.00	74,658.30
Fort Severn	56	2,543.24	142,421.19
TOTAL	360	\$ 1,339.40	\$ 482,185.32
<u>WINDIGO AREA</u>			
	459	\$ 1,782.61	\$ 818,216.00
<u>PEDAHBUN AREA</u>			
	359	\$ 1,293.58	\$ 464,394.69
Hudson	15	636.94	9,554.11
Lac Seul	61	896.48	54,685.37
Sioux Lookout	53	1,463.01	77,539.69
TOTAL	129	\$ 1,099.06	\$ 141,779.17
<u>DISTRICT TOTALS</u>			
1979-80	1307	\$ 1,458.74	\$ 1,906,575.28

¹ There is a slight discrepancy in total fur values between these figures and the figures in Table #5 (per species) because of small variations in OTA prices used in the computations.

* Information from MNR, Sioux Lookout District Office

Table 5 on page 21 on the "Volume and Value of Harvest Per Special for Kayahna District" was compiled from 1979-80 MNR data.

Table 6 on page 22 compares the volume of fur per species caught in Big Trout Lake in the 1978-79 and 1979-80 seasons.

TABLE 4.

1979-80 VOLUME AND VALUE OF HARVEST PER SPECIES FOR KAYAHNA DISTRICT *

	Big Trout Lake and Angling Lake (125 trappers)	Wunnumun Lake and Kingfisher Lake (110 trappers)	Kassabonica (69 trappers)	Fort Severn (56 trappers)	OTA Average Prices	Totals Per Species
Beaver	\$95,623.22 (2,003)	\$62,587.14 (1,311)	\$49,649.60 (1,040)	\$85,259.12 (1,788)	\$ 47.74	6,142
Mink	8,453.50 (319)	10,361.50 (391)	4,505.00 (170)	2,650.00 (100)	26.50	980
Marten	7,285.32 (236)	12,656.70 (410)	8,026.20 (260)	13,212.36 (428)	30.87	1,334
Otter	16,168.00 (235)	11,558.40 (168)	8,531.20 (124)	16,856.00 (245)	68.80	772
Fisher	4,580.55 (27)	1,357.20 (8)	678.60 (4)	339.30 (2)	169.65	41
Lyx	7,717.68 (36)	-----	214.38 (1)	1,500.66 (7)	214.38	44
Muskrat	7,854.21 (959)	15,782.13 (1,927)	2,850.12 (348)	4,078.62 (498)	8.19	3,732
Squirrel	147.00 (98)	561.00 (374)	123.00 (82)	-----	1.50	554
Weasel	41.86 (23)	69.16 (38)	34.58 (19)	728.00 (4)	1.82	84
Coloured Fox	1,279.95 (15)	255.99 (3)	85.33 (1)	13,567.47 (159)	85.33	178
Arctic Fox	91.28 (2)	-----	-----	3,103.52 (68)	45.64	70
Timber Wolf	145.48 (2)	436.44 (6)	-----	800.14 (11)	72.74	19
Coyote	97.88 (2)	195.76 (4)	-----	391.52 (8)	48.94	14
Wolverine	156.72 (1)	-----	-----	470.16 (3)	156.72	4
Polar Bear	-----	-----	-----	3,250.50 (6)	541.75	6

For Big Trout Lake itself, we can separate out the 1979-80 totals from the "Volume and Value of Harvest Per Species for Kayahna District" and compare them with totals for 1978-79, also provided by MNR, Sioux Lookout District Office.

TABLE #6

	Beaver	Mink	Marten	Otter	Fisher	Lynx	Muskrat	Squirrel	Weasel	Coloured Fox	Arctic Fox	Timber Wolf	Coyote	Wolverine	Polar Bear
Big Trout Lake 1978-79	1617	300	337	265	33	62	365	62	42	31	-	3	2	-	1
Big Trout Lake 1979-80	2003	319	236	235	27	36	959	98	23	15	2	2	2	2	-

When comparing the figures for 1976-77, 1977-78, and 1979-80 seasons, it is clear that in all cases, the dollar value of the harvest, the total volume of the harvest, and the number of trappers in each community have increased, in some cases significantly. According to the Wildlife Technical Report No. 1, in Big Trout Lake, the dollar return per km² has risen from \$3.17/km² to \$11.99/km². In Kassabonika, the dollar return has risen from \$3.97/km² to \$11.61/km². In Kingfisher/Wunnumun Lakes, the dollar return has risen from \$6.61/km² to \$13.27/km². (We have assumed in all cases that the area of the traplines has remained the same during the years).

The chart relating to furbearers on pages 25-26 indicates the most valuable species: lynx, wolverine, fisher, in order of priority. It is important to note under the column headed "Sensitivity" that competing land uses such as logging, tourism, etc., will have a great impact on furbearers. The implications of this for an economic development plan will be discussed in greater detail in Section 3, An Integrated Development Plan.

According to Phase I of the MNR's Strategic Land Use Plan for Northwestern Ontario, the main problems affecting fur trapping now are:

- 1) fluctuating prices;
- 2) alternative types of employment are more reliable, better paying and less demanding;

3) lack of motivation by trappers in some areas to utilize the available harvest.

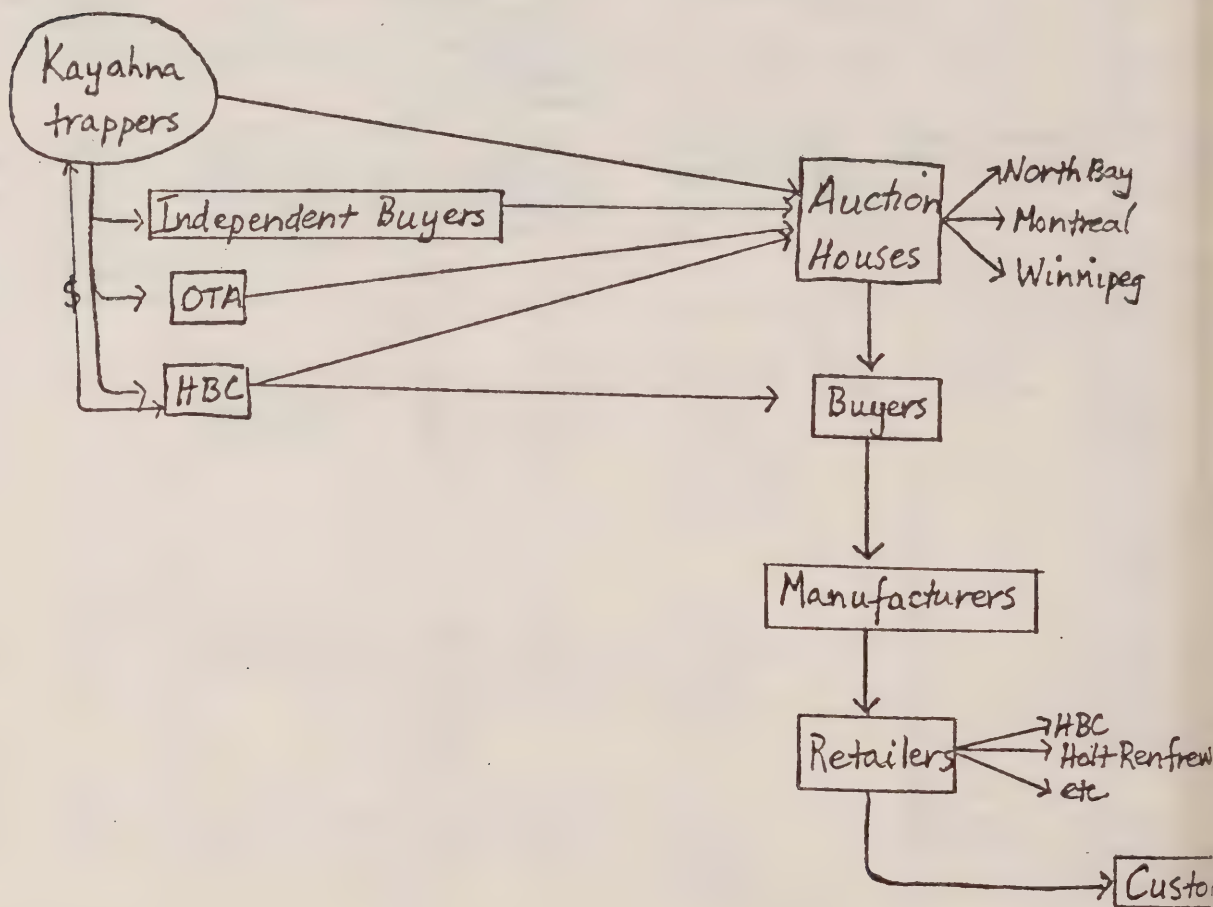
We should add to that the possible loss of skills as fewer and fewer young people go out on the traplines; this may change as more families move back to the traplines in response to the currently high prices. In addition, it is not enough to explain away the situation by blaming "lack of motivation by trappers". In sub-section 2.1.5, Subsidization of the Trapping Industry, we shall be looking at subsidization as another means by which trappers are encouraged or discouraged to utilize their resource more fully.

Common Name	Scientific Name	Habitat	Breeding/ Reproduction	Diet	Predators	Sensitivity	Use by man
Beaver	<i>Castor canadensis</i>	slow flowing streams, lakes, rivers, or marshes. Aspen groves preferred, however shrub willows or alder acceptable.	mating Jan.-Feb. males monogamous. gestation 3.5 mos. kits born Apr.-June litter size 3.9 (1-8)	water plants, bark, leaves, twigs, buds of aspen, willow, birch, poplar feed piles established in Sept.-Oct.	bear, wolf	disease (tularemia) water fluctuations, lake-shore timber harvesting	account for approx. 50% of fur harvest in Planning Area. harvested for pelt and food value. castoreum.
Marten	<i>Lutra canadensis</i>	amphibious, shores of deep clear lakes, rivers and large marshes	mating late winter, early spring immediately after birth of young (post partum oestrus) gestation 9-12.5 mos. including delayed implantation, litter size 2.5 (1-4)	mainly aquatic. fishes, invert., small amphibians (frogs, tadpoles, etc.) muskrats, voles, shrews and occasionally beaver.	wolves, man		valuable fur. account for approx. 15% of fur harvest in Planning Area.
Marten	<i>Martes americana</i>	mature coniferous forests and margins	mating July-Aug. males polygamous gestation 7.5-9 mos. including 6.6 mos. delayed implantation young born late March-April litter size 2.6 (1-4)	mainly carnivorous, mice, voles, squirrels, hares, birds, berries, insects, carion	fishers lynx	forest fires, logging operations	valuable fur account for approx. 10% of fur harvest in Planning area
Muskrat	<i>Ondatra zibethicus</i>	aquatic, lakes, rivers, ponds, marshes, water depth greater than 4 ft. to prevent freezing to bottom and less than 12 ft. to provide vegetation. travel widely beneath ice.	mating March-Sept. gestation approx. 1 mo. litter born May-Oct. litter size variable averages 7.1 (1-11) normally 2 litters per year	emergent vegetation, fresh water mussels, turtles, frogs, salamanders.	pike, mink, fox, wolves, black bear, lynx, owls, eagles, man.	population dynamics resulting in high densities and intense harvest in localized areas can cause population unbalance, isolated, short term effect.	account for approx. 7% of economic value of fur harvest in Planning area. Actual number of animals harvested exceeded only by beaver.
Fisher	<i>Martes pennanti</i>	climax, coniferous, forest, watercourse vicinity, unlike marten it will venture into subclimax deciduous groves and burned over areas.	breeding March-Apr. immediately following birth of young (post partum oestrus) gestation 11-12 mos. including 10 mos. delayed implantation period. litter size 2.7 (1-4).	almost exclusively carnivorous, squirrels, voles, hares, shrews, porcupines, mice, mink, muskrat, carion, Some birds, insects, berries.	man	extensive clearcutting	relatively few animals successfully trapped, however pelt considered extremely valuable, consequently accounts for 6% of economic value of fur harvest in Planning area.
Mink	<i>Mustela vison</i>	stream banks, lakeshores, forest edges, large swamps, travel widely beneath ice.	breeding late Feb.-Mar. occasional delay in implantation consequently gestation varies from 1-2.5 mos. kits born late Apr.-May. one litter. size 5 (2-10).	omnivorous, voles, muskrats, shrews, hares, fish, frogs, salamanders, crayfish, insects birds.	owl, fox, bear man		pelt moderately valuable. moderate number trapped account for approx. 5% of economic value of fur harvest in Planning area.
Lynx	<i>Lynx lynx</i>	generally areas containing high populations of snowshoe hare	breeding Mar.-Apr. gestation 2 mos. kittens born May-June. single litter. size 2-3 (1-4)	staple is snowshoe hare, also birds, voles, squirrels, fox, carion, occasionally moose or caribou calves.	wolves man	human disturbance	pelt by far most valuable of all fur bearers within Planning area. Numbers taken vary with snowshoe hare population.
Coloured or	<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	prefer semi-open conditions, lakeshores, valleys, clearings, marsh areas in winter.	breeding mid-Jan. to mid-March. generally monogamous, gestation 1.5-2 mos. whelps born Mar.-May. litter size 5.1 (1-10).	omnivorous seasonal shift. winter-small mammals & birds summer-insects, invertebrates, nuts, berries, fruits, fish, frogs.	man		moderately high pelt value. Few animals actually taken throughout Planning area.

Scientific Name	Habitat	Breeding/ Reproduction	Diet	Predators	Sensitivity	Use by man
<i>Loxoborhynchus</i>	formerly boreal forest. Tundra descend to valleys in winter.	breeding Apr.-Sept. delayed implantation. total gestation 7-8 mos. young born Mar. to mid April. litter size 2-5	scavenger diet. moose & caribou carrion.	occasionally wolves, man	very few remain within Planning Area. Sensitive to any human disturbance located in Sachigo area.	pelt second most valuable, very few animals (less than 10) taken each year.
<i>Thomomys talpae</i>	boreal forest throughout entire area	breeding Feb.-Mar. one litter/yr. gestation 1-1.5 mos. young born Apr.-May. litter size 4.5 (1-8).	pine, spruce, cones, nuts, buds, berries, seeds, insects, mushrooms, mice, voles, etc.	important link in boreal food chain. hawks, eagles, owls, lynx, weasel, wolf, man,	logging activities, forest fires	pelt sells for 50-75 cents. Many taken throughout area.
<i>Thomomys talpae</i>	prefers mixture of habitat types.	breeding Apr.-Aug. gestation 7.5 mos. including delayed implantation. young born Feb.-Mar. normally 2-3 cubs (1.5).	omnivorous. will eat almost anything, grasses, leaves, in early spring, immediately after emerging from hibernation, carrion, meat, berries in summer.	man		more important as game animal or source of meat. Very few taken by trapping each year. (less than 10).
<i>Thomomys talpae</i>	little preference for special habitats. Found throughout entire area.	mating late Feb.-Mar. mate for life, gestation 2 mos. pups born early May. litter size 7 (5-14).	moose, caribou, beaver, also smaller proportion of birds and small mammals	man	sensitive to human disturbance of any sort.	pelt moderately valuable. equally valued as game animal. Relatively few taken by trapping.

2.1.3 The Structure of the Fur Industry

Kayahna Area trappers are the producers who begin the process of getting the fur from the bush to the consumers, and in the process, of transforming the wild fur from pelts to finished garments. The steps in between are many, as the following diagram indicates:



Canada exports 40% of its fur (both wild and ranched fur); the three most important markets are West Germany, the USA and Japan. The Fur Trade Journal commented that it was the industrial expansion in Japan and the market for furs created there that caused a boom in the fur industry in the 1970's. Canadian exports are also increasing. In 1978, exports were \$72,000,000, 50% more than in 1977. The share of the USA market is also increasing: \$10 million dollars worth in 1977 grew to \$18 million in 1978. As an overall trend, since 1945, the volume and value of exported furs has increased significantly.

What will be the future of the fur industry and how will this affect Kayahna trappers? A number of factors are acting on the industry which may result in continuing rising prices to the trappers. First, an economic recession might result in money being shifted from more traditional forms of investment such as real estate, the stock market, etc. into luxury goods such as furs, antiques, etc.: if this is the case, increased demand by consumers will drive the prices up.

In overall economic terms in today's context, it is important to note that, in order to benefit the trappers, prices must rise, not just remain at last year's level, no matter how high. This is because the costs of producing the fur are rising constantly (the cost of gasoline for skidoos, freighting, etc., and the cost of food for living in the bush, to name only two factors). If the price to the trapper remains the same, his profit is lowered because of the rising costs of production--this is known

as the "profit squeeze".

Second, as the Fur Trade Journal notes, increasing population pressure on producing areas in North America should result in fewer and fewer traplines and fewer animals caught. A decrease in supply of animals will mean an increase in price to the trapper if the market remains strong. An increase in population is forecasted for the Kayahna Area but whether this will mean increased trapping in the short-term is much less certain. What may have a greater effect in the short-term are environmental disturbances of the fur-bearing population through logging, mineral exploration, disruption of water levels and quality because of large-scale logging to the south of the Kayahna Area, etc.

A third factor to consider is possible competition with the ranched-fur industry. In 1958-59, the value of wild furs was \$9.7 million and of ranched furs, \$16.1 million. However, the Fur Trade Journal noted in 1979 that, "In spite of the growth of the ranched-fur industry...the wild fur industry still makes a major contribution to the economic viability of the world fur trade". It also noted that about 50% of the USA manufactured fur garments are made from wild furs, so that to kill the trapping industry would cripple the US fur manufacturing industry. (It should be mentioned here that it is in the interest of the Fur Trade Journal to use these statistics in order to strengthen its case against the anti-trapping lobby in Southern Canada and the USA).

Historically, the fur trade has been characterized by wild

swings in prices--years of good returns followed by steady decline when all associated with the industry (but most especially the trappers) experience decreased returns. Analysts have noted that the industry as a whole has not grown with the economy (despite the increasing significance of exports); and is characterized by "short-term instability and long-term decline". There are continuous problems with the supply of fur because of biological factors such as reproductive success, quality of the environment, disease and drought, predators, etc. But the most important factor in the success of the industry is still consumer demand for the finished products. If this market remains strong, then there is every possibility that prices to Kayahna trappers will continue to provide returns on their investment of labour and money.

Another factor affecting the overall supply of furs is the number of trappers and their productivity. Trappers enter the industry according to the prices they will receive, to biological factors such as the supply of the species, and to socio-economic factors such as availability of alternative employment, the cultural value placed by the community on trapping, and the education system and values that may encourage or discourage the activity.

When considering how to strengthen Kayahna participation in and control of trapping, it will be very important to weigh all these factors.

2.1.4 The Ontario Trappers' Association

The OTA was set up in 1947 as a non-profit marketing board for trappers in Ontario and elsewhere in Canada who were uninformed regarding markets and prices and wanted full market value for their furs. One result of its organization has been forcing the Bay to come up with better prices for the trappers. In addition, the OTA plays an education role in providing training courses to trappers.

When the OTA was first started in 1947, with funding from the Department of Lands and Forests, prices to the trappers were low and the fur industry was heading into the major slump of the '40's and '50's. By 1960, it received a grant of \$5,000 and its total volume of sales was \$375,000. In 1959 its first auction sale was held in North Bay. By 1979-80, it had accumulated \$4,000,000 in property and equipment, its overhead costs were \$1,000,000 and its total volume of sales was \$32,500,000. Of greater impact to the trappers, however, is the fact that it lowered its commission at the auction last year to 4% from 5% because of the amount of money it had made in profits last year; as a non-profit body, it must plow its profits back into its operating costs and its research and educational programs. (Prices at the auction are determined by market value of the pelt plus commission; the trapper receives the market value and the auction house, OTA receives the commission to cover its handling and operating costs).

Its membership is drawn from across Canada and currently

there are over 21,000 members, paying a \$5 annual membership fee. Its headquarters are in North Bay and it has set up 47 Trappers' Councils in Ontario. It tries to get representatives from all areas. There are 12 directors on the Board which establishes its policy, 6 of whom are elected every year for 2-year terms by the membership at the Annual Convention.

OTA views its educational function as an important one. It broadcasts information on prices through the north so that individual trappers will know whether or not they are getting good returns from the Bay and independent buyers. It also holds trappers' workshops in communities to upgrade their skills in trapping methods, skinning and stretching of pelts, etc., in order to increase the quality of the pelts and therefore the money they will get for them. (Small imperfections caused by treatment in the skinning and stretching processes will result in a decrease of 10-50% in the value of the pelt at auction).

The process of dealing with OTA may vary from place to place, according to whether or not there is a local buyer. In Big Trout Lake, for example, the Co-op gives advances (or credit) to the trapper in order to finance him/her for the season and ships out the furs brought in after they have been sealed by the local sealer who works for MNR at 20¢/pelt sealed. When the furs arrive at OTA in North Bay, OTA deducts the amount in advances and sends a cheque for the balance of the furs' value back to the trapper. OTA also reimburses the Co-op for its advance. Interest at regular rates is charged on advances by OTA.

There are a number of problems with the operation of OTA and the fur industry at the community level generally. The first is that there is not a great deal of Native participation in the OTA, nor is the organization oriented toward Native involvement per se. Rather, it wants to develop the trapping industry in general terms as opposed to serving Native trappers specifically. What this means is that, without some form of Native input, the organization tends to be run from the south, for southern non-Native trappers.

This is not totally OTA's desire or fault. It is going against 100 years or more of control exercised by the Bay, which many people at the community level tolerate because that's the way things have always been and/or because they don't know what to do about it.

In addition, because of under-capitalization (not having enough money on hand to grub-stake or pay the costs of trapping) many individuals will reserve some pelts in order to get instant cash for them at the Bay, *despite the fact that the Bay's prices may be lower than OTA's*. One estimate is that the trapper receives 50-70% less of what the pelt actually sells for if he/she goes to the Bay as opposed to OTA.

Another major problem with OTA is in its lack of accessibility to people at the community level. This is generally because there are not enough local buyers in the communities with whom the trappers can deal. This means there is no alternative to the Bay or independent buyers when it comes time to

get an advance for making the first trip to the trapline, and the trapper often ends up packing and shipping the furs independently which results in higher transportation costs. It is critical that buyers be available in the communities as people come back and forth from their traplines.

In general terms, trappers are individualized and made strongly independent by the very nature of the activity as a way of life. This works against the need in today's circumstances for trappers to be tightly organized in order to safeguard their economic returns.

Finally, the southern urban-oriented educational system has already greatly eroded the skills and traditional values of Native trappers. As far as trapping and bush skills are concerned, education for new trappers and refresher courses for more experienced trappers are vitally important.

The following information, provided by the Ontario Trappers' Association, indicates their level of involvement in the fur trade in the Kayahna Area. There are two important points to note about these figures. First is that these figures are only for pelts shipped directly to the OTA from individual trappers; they do not include the pelts shipped through an OTA collection point such as Mike Nothing in Bearskin Lake. Therefore these figures probably reflect an OTA involvement in the Kayahna Area lower than what is actually the case. The second point is that Table 8, page 37 contains figures for both 1978-79 and 1979-80 seasons; this should

be kept in mind when comparing OTA volume with the total volume of fur exported from the Kayahna Area for those years.

TABLE #7 : VOLUME OF FUR SHIPPED DIRECTLY TO OTA FROM KAYAHNA AREA, 1974-75*

1974-75	Beaver	Mink	Marten	Otter	Fisher	Lynx	Muskrat	Raccoon	Squirrel	Weasel	Coloured Fox	Arctic Fox	Timber Wolf	Coyote
Kassabonika	476	93	33	84	-	1	269	-	41	29				
Wunnumun Lake	448	83	51	26	3	-	309	-	45	14				
Big Trout Lake	103	10	3	17	-	-	2	-	-	1				
Kingfisher Lake	164	73	25	32	5	-	302	-	14	8				

*Information provided by Mr. Alex Shieff and Mr. Ron Savage, Ontario Trappers Association, North Bay, Ontario, in March/April 1981.

TABLE: #8 : VOLUME OF FUR SHIPPED DIRECTLY TO OTA FROM KAYAHNA AREA, 1978-79 & 1979-80 *

1978-79 & 1979-80	Beaver	Mink	Marten	Otter	Fisher	Lynx	Muskkrat	Raccoon	Squirrel	Weasel	Coloured Fox	Arctic Fox	Timber Wolf	Coyote	Wolverine	Polar Bear	Red Fox	Silver Fox	Castoreum
Kassabonika	1769	298	567	240	10	2	907	-	211	56	1	1	3	-	1	-	12	3	209 oz.
Wunnumun Lake	1	6	4	4	1														
Big Trout Lake	572	125	60	95	12	19	399	-	20	6	4	-	3	-	1	-	4	-	60 oz.
Kingfisher Lake	454	107	154	126	13	-	331	-	95	22	-	-	2	1	-	-	4	-	52 oz.
Fort Severn	107	12	35	43	-	1	34	-	1	1	16	20	14	-	2	7	46	4	

*Information provided by Mr. Alex Shieff and Mr. Ron Savage, Ontario Trappers Association, North Bay, Ontario, in March/April 1981.

We can have a fairly clear picture of the volume of fur sent out to OTA as compared with other sources (mainly local buyers such as the Hudson's Bay Company and independents) for the community of Big Trout Lake itself. We can refer to Table 6 and add together the figures for Big Trout Lake for 1978-79 and 1979-80 and compare these with Table 8. This comparison is presented in Table 9 on page 39.

TABLE #9 : VOLUME OF FUR SHIPPED TO OTA AS COMPARED WITH TOTAL VOLUME OF FUR EXPORTS,
BIG TROUT LAKE, 1978-79 and 1979-80

Big Trout Lake 1978-79 & 1979-80	Beaver	Mink	Marten	Otter	Fisher	Lynx	Muskkrat	Squirrel	Weasel	Coloured Fox	Arctic Fox	Timber Wolf	Coyote	Wolverine	Red Fox	Silver Fox
Total Volume Exported	3620	619	573	500	60	98	1324	160	65	46	2	5	4	2	-	-
Shipped to OTA Directly	572	125	60	95	12	19	399	20	6	4	-	3	-	1	12	3

From a comparison of these figures, it is clear that with respect to almost all species, a much smaller percentage of fur is exported to OTA than to other buyers; therefore, according to these figures it would appear that OTA has a great deal of room to expand its volume in Big Trout Lake and most likely in the Kayahna Areas as a whole.

2.1.5 Subsidization of the Trapping Industry

The first Federal-Provincial Resource Development Agreement was set up in 1976 for a 5-year period to provide funds each year for Native resource development projects for trapping, fishing, wild rice harvesting, timbering studies, goose camps, community freezers, etc., and for the hiring, in some cases, of resource development officers at the community level. The participating agencies are the Department of Indian Affairs federally, the Provincial Secretariat for Resources Development provincially, and the Provincial Treaty Organizations--Treaty #9, Treaty #3, The Union of Ontario Indians and the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians.'

Each year, from 1976-1980, a total of \$400,000 has been committed for administration and project costs for the Agreement, of which the Kayahna Area has received varying amounts as the following tables indicate. Ontario provides the money and the Department of Indian Affairs will reimburse Ontario each year for 50% of the amount actually expended, a sum not to exceed \$200,000 per year, as its contribution. The Development Agreement will be re-negotiated this spring for the second five-year period, and Treaty #9 is currently preparing its position to take to these meetings.

1975-76 Agreement Projects

Fort Severn Goose Camp	\$11,500
Big Trout Lake Freezer	5,000

Total Kayahna Projects	\$16,500
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Ontario Total Agreement \$400,000

1976-77 Agreement Projects

Fort Severn Goose Camp	\$8,600
Big Trout Lake Freezer	4,000

Total Kayahna Projects	\$12,600
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Ontario Total Agreement \$400,000

1977-78 Agreement Projects

1. MNR Contribution

Big Trout Lake	\$7,000	transportation: \$2,108;
		traps: \$4,892
Fort Severn	6,500	traps
Kingfisher Lake	6,500	traps
Kassabonica Lake	7,000	commercial fishing
Angling Lake	6,500	skidoos
Wunnumun Lake	6,500	traps

Total Kayahna Projects	\$40,000
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2. DIA Contribution

	<u>Spent</u>	<u>Budgeted</u>	
*Big Trout Lake	\$4,999.70	\$5,000.00	equipment & cab
Fort Severn	5,447.09	5,500.00	" " "
Kingfisher Lake	3,000.58	3,000.00	" " "
Kassabonica Lake	3,496.76	3,500.00	" " "
Angling Lake	3,994.60	4,000.00	" " "
Wunnumun Lake	3,992.12	4,000.00	" " "

Total Kayahna Projects	\$24,930.85	\$25,000.00
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*Big Trout Lake used \$1,363.20 of its \$4,999.70 to freight material for 8 trapline cabins.

3. Big Trout Lake Freezer	\$4,000
Fort Severn Goose Camp	4,700

Total Kayahna Projects	\$8,700
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1977-78 Total MNR and DIA Subsidy for Kayahna District:
 $\$40,000 + \$25,000 + \$8,700 = \$73,700$

1978-79 Agreement Projects

1. MNR Contribution

Big Trout Lake	\$3,618.20	\$2,573 trappers' transportation and rest for trapping equipment for 11 trappers
Fort Severn	3,504.00	trappers' transportation
Kingfisher Lake	1,910.00	\$1,785 used for trappers' transportation for 10 trappers and trapping equipment
Kassabonica Lake	2,999.50	trappers' transportation
Angling Lake	1,997.00	trappers' equipment
Wunnumum Lake	2,930.00	trappers' equipment
Long Dog Lake	498.00	trappers' equipment

\$17,456.70

Emergency fund	540.40
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Total Kayahna Projects	\$17,997.10
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Total Budgeted	\$18,360.00
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2. DIA contribution (although received in the spring of 1978, this money is counted for the 1978-79 season)

Big Trout Lake	\$3,000.00	
Fort Severn	3,000.00	
Kingfisher Lake	3,000.00	3 cabins @\$538 + \$610 freight costs with Angling Lake
Kassabonica Lake	3,000.00	
Angling Lake	3,000.00	3 cabins @\$538
Wunnumum Lake	3,000.00	

Total Kayahana Projects	\$18,000.00
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1978-79 Total MNR and DIA Subsidy for Kayahna District:
 $\$18,360 + \$18,000 = \$36,360$

1980-81 Agreement Projects

1. MNR + DIA Contribution combined:

	<u>Spent</u>	<u>Budgeted</u>
Big Trout Lake	\$2,875.00	\$3,000.00
Fort Severn	4,559.00	4,500.00
Kingfisher Lake	3,083.40	3,000.00
Kassabonica Lake	5,613.40	5,500.00
Angling Lake	3,545.00	3,500.00
Wunnumum Lake	6,504.20	6,500.00
Long Dog Lake	1,500.00	1,500.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$29,180.00	\$27,500.00

Big Trout Lake	
Trappers Transporta-	
tion	2,718.70
Transportation of	
Freight	1,500.00
	<hr/>

Total Kayahna	
Projects	\$29,180.00 \$31,718.70

Balance not spent was used for plane charters to other communities and hauling traps and equipment out of Big Trout Lake

Kayahna trappers proposal asked for \$34,107 but was reduced to \$32,350

2. Big Trout Lake Freezer	\$5,300	for electrical power and maintenance
Fort Severn Goose Camp	1,400	MNR personnel for 3 years after turnover to private individual
	<hr/>	
Total Kayahna		
Projects	\$6,700	

1980-81 Total MNR and DIA Subsidy for Kayahna District:
\$32,350 + \$6,700 = \$39,050

in overall terms, the Federal-Provincial Resource Development Agreement contributes to the Kayahna District are the following. It is useful to place these Federal-Provincial Resource Development Agreement Contributions side-by-side with the corresponding volume and value to the Kayahna trappers of the fur resource.

TABLE #10 : F/PRDA SUBSIDY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRAPPING IN THE KAYAHNA AREA, 1960-1980

	Federal/Provincial Resource Development Agreement Contributions	Fur Harvest Value to the Kayahna Trappers	Volume of Furs Exported from Kayahna Area	No. of Kayahna Trappers
1960-61	N/A	N/A	N/A	921*
1975-76	\$ 16,500	N/A	N/A	N/A
1976-77	12,600	\$ 122,906	6923 ¹ (all species) in Kayahna Area	192 (33 did not trap)
1977-78	73,700	114,343	Beaver only 2094	200 (33 were inactive)
1978-79	36,360	464,697	Big Trout Lake only: 3115 (all species)	306
1979-80	No Figures	482,185	Big Trout Lake only: 3959 (all species)	360
1980-81	39,050	N/A	N/A	N/A

¹Without Fort Severn Figures

*Big Trout Lake only: 64 family units; 357 dependent persons

From a peak in 1977-78, the contributions plummeted to under half that amount the following year and have gained scarcely at all in 1980-81. In fact, given increasing costs for gas, food, equipment, etc., (for example, knives have increased from \$14 to \$19), the subsidy is not keeping pace with inflation. In addition to costs increasing from year to year, which government subsidies do not take into account, the trappers are bound by the fact that costs have been increasing significantly from the time they submit their proposals to the time they actually receive the money, which may be 6 months to 1 year later.

Yet, despite these increasing costs, it is apparent that the increase in subsidy in 1977-78 has been offset in subsequent years by the increase in returns to the trappers and (as shall be explained in the following section) to the Hudson's Bay Company. Specifically, a 585% increase in subsidy (from \$12,600 in 1976-77 to \$73,700 in 1977-78) led to a 406% increase in the value of the fur harvest (from \$114,343 in 1977-78 to \$464,697 in 1978-79). Although we do not have complete figures for the increased volume of trapped pelts, we can explain the increase in value of the fur resource to the Kayahna region by two factors: an increase in price per pelt for virtually all species on the world markets, and we can estimate accurately that an increase in the number of trappers led to an increase in volume of furs trapped.

The money received is used for trapping equipment, cabins, gas/oil, freight costs and aircraft charters. Transportation costs only cover one-way trips to get the trappers and their families out to their traplines, and only to traplines more than 30 miles outside the communities so as to encourage utilization of the resource base away from the settlements. (The latter was initiated as a new policy last year; it partially accounts for some of the decrease--or at least lack of interest--of funding).

A general criticism may be levelled at the kind of projects the Development Agreement has funded in the past. For the most part, these have involved cash subsidies to the trappers in the field as administered by the band, the local trapping co-ordinator and/or trappers' councils themselves. These are vital to the lives of trappers, but do not go far enough. They should be supplemented by grants for research that will allow comprehensive strategic planning to increase Native participation in and control over resource development in the area. A study of this nature is one such as the Windigo Distribution System which proposed to help fishermen, trappers and local business men by designing a co-ordinated ordering and delivery system. Unfortunately, the Development Agreement Advisory Committee did not see fit to fund this proposal, despite the fact that it could make a positive impact on the incomes of local people by improving marketing and retailing systems.

A recent development which Kayahna people should view with concern is that the status of funding is changing in some cases from grants to revolving loans. This means that the trappers get money as an advance but have to pay it back when they sell their furs. Under the terms of this agreement, money for revolving loans will be cut off in future years if they are not administered as revolving loans. In 1980, Big Trout Lake turned down \$3,000 for the trapping program because DIA gave it as a revolving loan, and recommended that the other communities do the same. Big Trout Lake then asked for \$8,000 as a direct subsidy and received it; the other communities accepted theirs as revolving loans. Once subsidies change into revolving loans, local leaders and administrators are left with the large problem of explaining the drastic change to local trappers and ensuring that the money is paid back.

2.1.6 The Hudson's Bay Company

2.1.6.1 Hudson's Bay Company--Historical Information

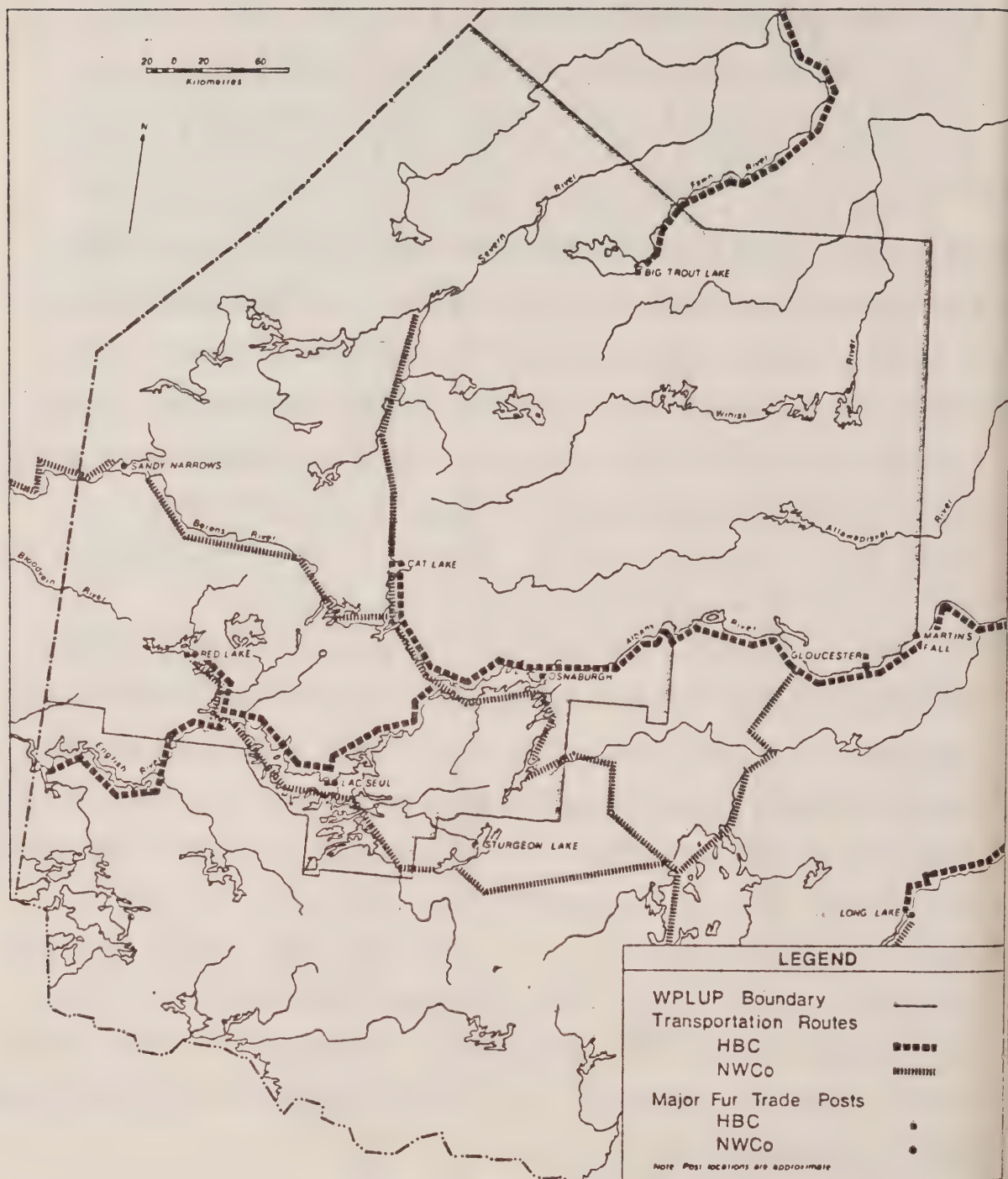
An examination of the Hudson's Bay Company's activities in the Kayahna Area must begin with a brief historical overview.

The Hudson's Bay Company, chartered in England in 1670, established itself in settlements on the coast of Hudson's Bay and used the Hudson Bay and northern route for the prosecution of the fur trade between its chartered lands and Europe. Its policy was to base itself in its Hudson Bay settlements and move southward as the fur trade demanded, using principal arteries such as the Fawn (which flows northward out of Big Trout Lake to Hudson Bay), the Albany and the Severn. It branched southward into smaller arteries only as competition demanded.

Such competition was not long forthcoming from the Montreal based North West Company. Established initially by French trading interests to counter English activity in the lucrative fur trade, the North West Company was taken over by Scottish-Canadian traders after the French were defeated by the English in 1760 at the Plains of Abraham. The aggressive policies of the North West Company pushed it northward and into the back-roads more readily from its traditional basis in the south, although it continued to use the St. Lawrence as its main trading route to Europe. It moved closer toward the Kayahna Area from its southern basis by way of the Berens, Severn, and Winisk Rivers. (p. 49)

The impact of the fur trade in the Kayahna Area, as elsewhere

Figure 1: **MAJOR FUR TRADE ROUTES**
WEST PATRICIA REGION: 1800-1821



in the country, was prolonged and drastic for Native people; the foundations for much of the Area's present day economic and political reality can be dated back to these roots.

Big Trout Lake itself, which is today the largest and most centrally-serviced of the Kayahna communities, was the first and main post established in the area, originally by the North West Company. The Hudson's Bay Company followed in 1807 with the building of its first post on the east side of the lake. Until the Bay took over the North West Company in 1821, they competed with each other for the furs brought in by local Indians. It seemed to be characteristic of the less aggressive policies of the Hudson's Bay Company that they depended more on local Indians for the provision of food and knowledge of geography and survival skills; they also used the Indians more in the fur trade than did the North West Company. In the expansion process, however, both companies adopted essential aspects of Indian technology, especially snowshoes and the birchbark canoe.

The merger of the two companies in 1821 had a severe impact on local Indians. The Hudson Bay Company no longer had to service Indian needs to maintain its competitive edge with the North West Company, and the Indians lost their bargaining position. The competitive vacuum created by the demise of the North West Company was only partially filled by independent traders; nevertheless, as noted in the 1964 Big Trout Lake Pilot Study report, even relatively recently, Indians in Big Trout Lake recognized the strategic importance of doing some business with the local independent

trader in order to decrease their dependence on the Bay, and would do so even if his prices were lower than the Bay's. In addition, competition between the two companies had reduced fur stocks, so that the Big Trout Lake post was closed for a number of years during the 1820's.

The establishment of main posts and outposts was an essential feature of the organization of the fur trade, and began to affect radically the settlement patterns of the local Native people. Outposts were often established in response to Indians' requests and were used according to the seasonal cycles: winter was trapping and trading season so the outposts were well stocked, but in summer they were virtually abandoned. The effect on wildlife, of course, was to decrease it. Posts were built this way at Big Beaver House and Kingfisher Lake. The pattern became established that, anywhere there was a permanent settlement, Indians congregated in summer for fishing but left for fall and winter trapping. It was not until relatively recently, when schools were established and it became mandatory to send their children, that families began to settle permanently.

The era of the fur trade, and the importance of the Indian role in it, began to give way as the exploitation of other staple products, principally lumber and wheat, then minerals, developed. But the impact of the organization of the fur trade by the Hudson Bay Company, which ultimately predominated, was long-lasting and

substantial: the Bay was organized as a central monopoly in the economic sphere in response to the demands of organizing and controlling the fur trade, and a centralized state developed in the political sphere. It is important to note how the two worked hand-in-hand: Hudson's Bay employees gathered vital information on geography and local resources that were important to the state, and the state used posts as central points for the organization of its contact with Native people.

The 1821 merger marks a major turning point in Native/European relations that can be described as the point at which Native dependency on the Bay and on European society generally began to increase. As control of the fur trade began to slip out of their hands, Native people began to find themselves increasingly dictated to by the Bay. With improved transportation (the development of the York boat) allowing easier access to the south, trade goods from the Bay began to include food such as flour, sugar, tea, etc., which enabled the Indians to spend more time trapping. Thus, their local self-sufficiency was undermined as they became increasingly drawn into the southern-based economy as independent commodity producers. This was the first of what I would identify as the three eras of increasing Native dependency.

The second era was marked by the shift from fur toward timber and mineral resource exploitation. As their resource base became further undermined with the encroachment of timber and mineral licences and large-scale exploitation, Native people

began to supplement their traditional life-style with some wage labour inside and outside their immediate areas. For people of the Kayahna communities, it would be important to document their involvement as workers in the mines of Pickle Lake and Red Lake, in the forest industry outside the immediate area, and also in some of the short-lived mining ventures closer at hand, such as at Sachigo River Gold Mine in the late '30's and early '40's, and the Berens River Mine south of Sandy Lake, 1939-1946, 1966-1971. In the former, it is estimated almost 99% of the workers were Native and in the latter, many Native people were employed (from personal communication, John Peters, historical researcher, Ministry of Culture and Recreation).

The third era is marked by increasing dependence on the state, instead of reliance on the private industrial resource sector to supplement the use of the traditional economy. The question here is whether or not the use of the traditional economy has increased or decreased over time, and to what extent. We also need to document the degree to which Native people in the Kayahna Area have turned their backs on the industrial wage-labour economy and, if a choice exists, made a decision to choose the welfare economy as a form of resistance to the industrial sector. I would maintain that this is a question of choice, as well as a question of skills (or lack thereof) to move into the industrial economy. In this third era, Native people have become marginalized as a labour force through job creation projects and

welfare. Therefore their dependence on the state has increased most likely in proportion to the extent it has decreased on the private industrial sector. The historical form of integration of Native people into the Hudson Bay Company, meanwhile, has been left far behind. Native people act no longer in a central role as the producers of staples: instead, the renewable resource economy (principally fur) is now marginal in terms of its productive capacity and in terms of the income it brings to the Kayahna Area, compared with the State-generated income.

But a second point to note in terms of our discussion of the Hudson's Bay Company is that Native people are increasingly drawn into the southern-based economy as consumers, no longer as major producers, and the Bay now responds to this need as a retail outlet. This will be further documented and discussed in the following Section 2.1.6.4 The Hudson's Bay Company and Underdevelopment. And the central role of the Bay itself as the once-dominant colonial institution has undergone significant change as many of its functions are challenged (if not taken over) by the state (especially in the form of co-operative development, by regulation of economic life in transportation and communications, etc.) and other private institutions.

Information contained in the 1964 Big Trout Lake Pilot Study Report shows how far this movement toward dependence on State-generated income had gone by the early 1960's.

TABLE #11

ESTIMATED "CASH" INCOME IN TROUT LAKE FOR THE YEAR 1960-1961¹

	SOURCE	AMOUNT	PERCENT
1.	Trapping	\$ 14,792	14.5
2.	Fishing	\$ 10,864	10.7
3.	Wages (casual)	\$ 9,559	9.4
4.	Family Allowances	\$ 19,536	19.2
5 & 6	Other Statutory Welfare Benefits*	\$ 16,002	15.7
7.	Indian Affairs Branch Relief	\$ 17,955	17.6
8.	Wages (steady)	\$ 11,060	10.9
9.	Treaty Annuity	\$ 2,064	2.0
10.	TOTAL INDIAN COMMUNITY INCOME	\$101,832	100.0

¹ Big Trout Lake: A Pilot Study, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, February 1964. pg. 64

* In this table, "Other Statutory Welfare Benefits" includes Old Age Assistance and Old Age Security which are separated on most of the subsequent tables.

Trapping and fishing together contributed only 25.2% of total income to Big Trout Lake earners, whereas the state sector contributed 54.5% (Items 4-7 & 9).

The following table shows that income differentials were developing in the community according to occupation. Decile groups are groups of equal numbers of earners, arranged from the lowest income (No. 1) to the highest (No. 10).

SOURCES OF FAMILY "CASH" INCOME IN TERMS OF THE PROPORTIONS FOR EACH DECILE GROUP
DERIVED FROM EACH COMPONENT SOURCE¹

COMPONENT SOURCES	DECILE GROUPS									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Trapping	37.1	46.5	43.8	30.6	18.6	14.6	10.0	9.3	15.4	7.6
2. Fishing	3.8	25.0	5.9	4.3	3.0	10.8	8.2	3.2	21.7	11.4
3. Wages (casual)	17.8	8.1	14.6	16.3	19.5	2.4	8.4	10.2	9.5	7.1
4. Family Allowances	25.5	12.0	4.5	14.3	31.5	9.6	19.2	25.8	21.6	17.9
5. Old Age Assistance & Old Age Security	-	-	-	-	-	19.9	34.4	9.7	-	-
6. Other Statutory Welfare Benefits	-	-	-	-	-	25.9	5.7	17.3	9.2	5.3
7. Indian Affairs Branch Relief	4.0	4.3	28.8	31.4	24.0	15.1	12.1	22.3	17.3	14.7
8. Wages (steady)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.5	34.8
9. Treaty Annuity	11.8	4.1	2.4	3.1	3.4	1.7	2.0	2.2	1.8	1.2
10. TOTAL:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Ibid., pg. 69.

It is apparent that for the lowest income group, trapping and fishing together constitute an equal portion of their income (40.9%) compared with government transfer payments (41.3%). As one moves up the scale of increasing income, however, two trends begin to emerge. The first is that transfer payments from the state sector begin to form an increasingly large part of total income. And, second, that those earners who have steady wage employment (Decile Groups 9 & 10) have the largest incomes in the community. Thus, income differentials are emerging as a result of the intrusion of wage and welfare economies in Big Trout Lake. In actual monetary terms, the following table shows that trappers earned only one quarter approximately of the income earned by the steady wage workers. The social and political implications of this trend are that, as their access to resources decreases relative to other groups, trappers' status, power and influence may begin to diminish so that their traditional dominance comes into conflict with the rising power of those workers in the growing state-supported economic sector.

OCCUPATION TYPES AND LEVELS OF INCOME *

(1) R A N K	(2) TYPE	(3) TOTAL INCOME	(4) NO. OF EARNERS	(5) FAMILY UNITS	(6) NO. OF PERSONS	(7) PER- CAPITA INCOME	(8) MEAN INCOME PER EARNER
		\$				\$	\$
1	Steady Wage Work Only	12,220	5	3	23	525	2,444
2	Marginals (Relief, Wel- fare, etc.)	29,911	52	23	133	227	548
3	Traditional (Trappers)	59,701	92	64	357	167	649
4	TOTAL: All Groups	101,832	149	90	513	198	683

* Ibid., pg. 76

There are also figures that show the consolidation of these trends for Fort Severn in 1972-73.

TABLE # 14

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY SOURCE: 1972-1973, FORT SEVERN, ONTARIO*

Source of money	Amount (approximate)	Percent of total
1. Fur sales to store	\$40,000	21.7
2. LIP grant for building airstrip, through Canada Manpower, (F) ²	11,000	6.1
3. LIP grant for woodcutting, from Canada Manpower, to Ft. Severn Band, (F)	9,000	4.9
4. Indian Affairs grant for Summer Works Project, road work and dock construction	2,000	1.1
5. Salaries, from Indian Affairs housing construction, (P) ³	3,000	1.6

(continued)

Source of money	Amount (approximate)	Percent of total
6. Income from Goose Camp operation, (P)	5,000	2.7
7. Permanent Welfare: OAP (Old Age Pension, (F); Community and Social Services, to widows, unmarried mothers, non-Treaty Indians, (P)	30,000	16.3
8. Family allowance	5,000	2.7
9. Indian Affairs welfare and Treaty money, (F)	36,000	19.6
10. Salary of native nursing aid	3,000	1.6
11. Adult education: \$70 per week, 15 students for 24 weeks	25,000	13.6
12. Payment by HBC for unloading barge and building dock	4,000	2.2
13. Salary of native clerk in HBC	3,000	1.6
14. Money sent out of village for COD orders	2,000	1.1
15. Payment by HBC for work in resupplying store	2,000	1.1
16. Money spent in village by HBC manager and clerk	<u>4,000</u>	<u>2.2</u>
TOTALS:	\$184,000	100.0%

¹This information was kindly provided by Mr. C. Burke, HBC manager, Fort Severn. He estimates the information is within one percent of accuracy. Since most of the money received by villagers is in check, and since all checks go through the local HBC store, the manager is in a position to have the above information.

²(F) indicates a Federally-funded program.

³(P) indicates a Provincially-funded program.

*Hurlich, Marshall, Environmental Adaptation: Biological and Behavioral Response to Cold in the Canadian Subarctic, State Univ. of N.Y. at Buffalo, Ph.D., 1976, Physical Anthropology. pp. 5

In overall terms, then, in the early 1960's the renewable resource sector contributed only 24.4% to Fort Severn incomes, while the state sector (including federal and provincial work projects, transfer payments and health and education incomes) contributed approximately 67.4% of total incomes, and the Hudson's Bay Company about 7.1%.

Currently, the continued operation of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Kayahna Area is mixed and somewhat problematic. The Kingfisher Band has just bought out the Hudson's Bay summer camp in its community for a total cost of \$218,000. This was made up of \$30,000 from the Band, CEIC covering the operating costs for one year through Transitional Leap, and the Department of Indian Affairs covering the balance through loans and contributions through that Department's Indian Economic Development Fund.

In Kassabonika, the local Hudson's Bay store was burned down.

Currently, the Kayahna Area is a problem area for the Bay. There is generally low volume/unused capacity despite preferential freight rates. There seems to be some speculation that the Bay would most likely want to maintain its profit-making outlets in Big Trout Lake and Wunnumun Lake and close down its other operations.

2.1.6.2 Hudson's Bay Company--Corporate Structure

The Hudson's Bay Company moved from England to its head office in Winnipeg in 1970, 300 years after it first was incorporated under Royal Charter. Its address is Hudson's Bay House, 77 Main St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3C 2R1; (204) 943-0881. Its corporate office is 2 Bloor St. E., Toronto, Ontario, M4W 3H7.

The Bay is a major Canadian retailer, operating 600 department stores and other retail outlets in major cities and small isolated communities across the country. It traded exclusively in furs for the first 200 years of its existence and continues to operate the world's largest fur trading company with auction houses in Montreal, Winnipeg, New York and London. It now has major real estate holdings through Markborough Properties Ltd. and interests in 22 shopping centres in Canada. It is also heavily invested in natural resources through its 18.4% investment in Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas Co. Ltd. (which it formed in 1926 with Continental Oil Company of Delaware); its investment in Dome Petroleum; and its 60% interest in Roxy Petroleum which holds oil and gas rights on approximately 85,000 acres in Western Canada. It also recently (1979) took over Simpson's Ltd., another major Canadian retailer; and in 1978 Zeller's became

a 57%-owned subsidiary of the Bay. The Bay employees number approximately 42,000.

In May 1979, the Thomson family (through the Woodbridge Company and Thomson Equitable (International) Ltd.) acquired 75% interest in the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus, the Bay itself has become merged with the multinational media and industrial interests of the Thompson family.

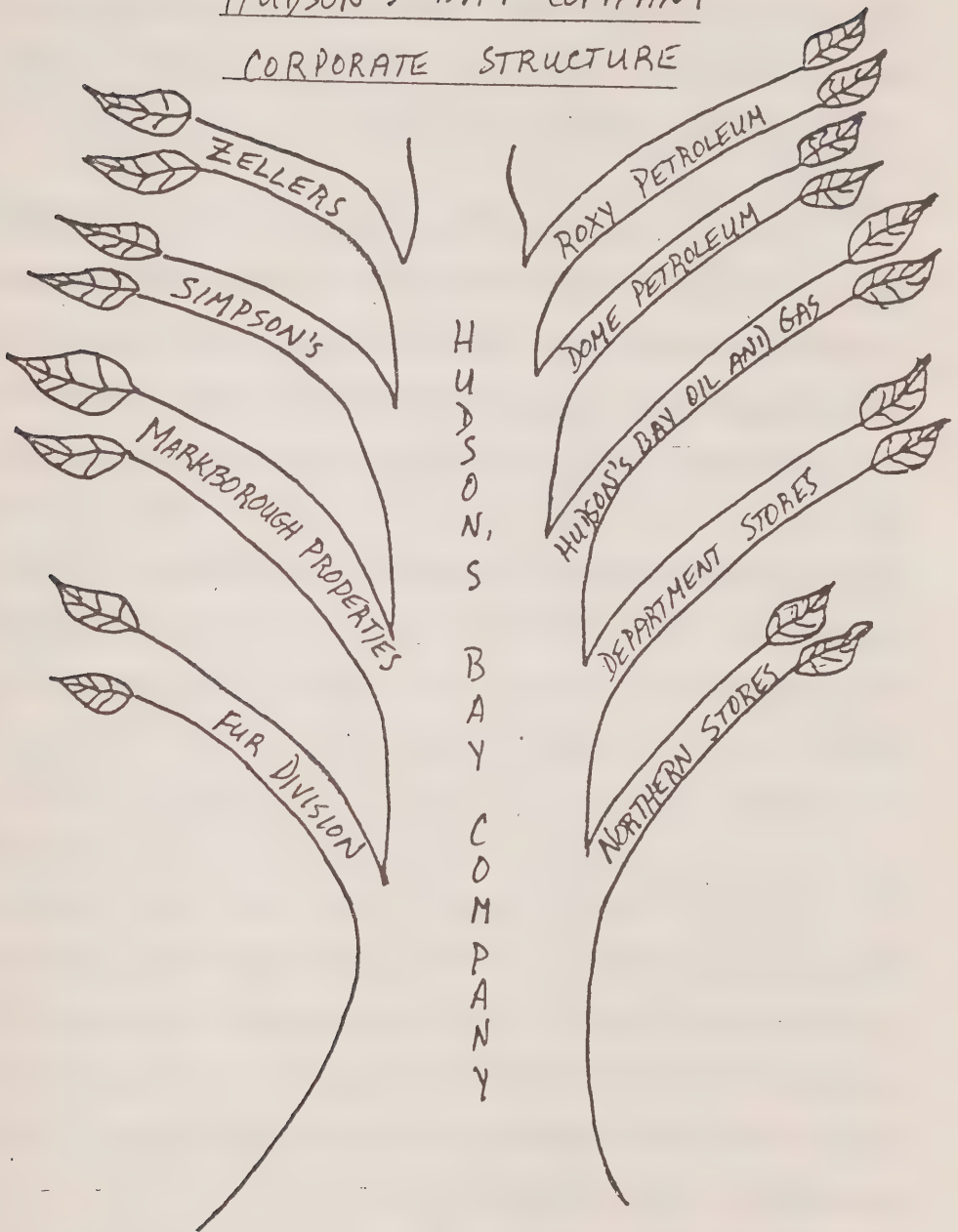
The Bay's operations, then, can be divided into the retail division (Northern Stores and Department Stores), the fur division (auction houses), real estate, and natural resources. The diversified nature of the Bay in productive and retailing industries means that losses in one sector can be offset by profits in another. For example, the 1965 Annual Report notes that although profits in the fur trade were down, profits in the Northern Stores department increased because of greater markets in the north through resource development projects. As another example, the Bay's Department Store profits may be down in 1980, because of the general tightening of consumer spending but its oil and gas revenues may increase. There are also two major conclusions to draw from this. The first is that *the Bay will not have decreased profits overall if fur prices drop because at least some of its other interests in diversified sectors will be making profits*. The second conclusion, and this is stated explicitly in a number of the Annual Reports, is that resource development has expanded the market for the Northern Stores. Coupled with the lack of organized competition in the North (due to the Bay's

virtual historical monopoly), this has resulted in increased profits. *The Bay profits, therefore, from increased resource development in Northern Canada as long as it can exploit the market that this development brings.* In fact, in 1965-70, the growth of the Northern Stores division and their profitability exceeded the annual rate of the Retail division overall and accounted for approximately 25% of the retail division's volume, according to the 1970 Report.

For 200 years, the Bay traded exclusively in furs. It was not until 1870, by Deed of Surrender with the government of the newly formed Canada, that the Company's chartered territory was formally transferred to the government in exchange for farm lands in the prairie provinces, and the Company became involved in other activities. The Company, in turn, sold these lands to settlers over the next 85 years but also used substantial tracts in the west to build department stores and enter the retail trade.

2.1.6.3 The Hudson's Bay Company and The State

Many are the links between the Hudson's Bay Company and the State. The Bay virtually was the State in its initial exploration and settlement of the north--its existence in fact pre-dated any form of government. When the fledgling governments began to map and survey the territory, the Bay provided vital information and contacts, as noted earlier. And now within recent history, there are examples of how the State has made policy which has effectively enhanced the Bay's profit-making motives. The Wildlife Technical Report on the Commercial Fur Industry notes

E 1A:HUDSON'S BAY COMPANYCORPORATE STRUCTURE

that only as of 1977 were travelling fur buyers allowed north of the CNR line. Prior to this time, the Bay's virtual monopoly was protected by government regulation from competition from travelling buyers.

Another example of this can be shown by a closer examination of the effect of the government's subsidization policy on the operation of the Bay. In 1980-81, as noted above, government subsidy is in the neighbourhood of \$39,000. If prices for this year are relatively the same as last year's, the gross value of the harvest to the 360 trappers in the Kayahna Region will be approximately \$485,748 (based on OTA prices). The Bay Annual Reports note that their auction houses depend on the selling commissions for their income. The Bay profits are based therefore, on two factors: on the prices of fur, and the volume of fur carried at auction. Increasing government subsidy at times of high prices can play an important part in getting trappers to the field and allowing them to trap for longer periods of time. The increased volume and the high prices naturally increase the profits to the Bay. *When the government subsidizes the trappers, therefore, it in effect subsidizes the Bay.* A decrease in fur prices will mean hardship for the trapper unless he/she can significantly increase the volume of fur caught to offset the decrease in price levels. But the Bay does not necessarily fall behind because the increase in volume can offset the price drop, and the Company has the added advantage of being able to increase its commission at the same time (though there is a probable narrow

range within which it can do so).

A decline in prices will force some trappers to increase their productivity and others to quit. For those who choose the former, it is unlikely that they can greatly increase their productivity to make up for the price drop. But the Bay, because it draws on the productivity of thousands of trappers from across the country, can profit from the overall increase in volume harvested. And even if this does not happen, any losses can be offset by the profits of other divisions within the Company.

2.1.6.4 The Hudson's Bay Company and Underdevelopment

There are four major inter-related economic factors at work in the fur trade that are important to examine. These are: prices, supply and demand, wages, and profits.

Supply and demand in the fur market will determine the market prices of the fur. There are a number of ways this can work itself out. If the demand for fur increases at a time when harvest volume is low, then the price of fur will increase markedly. Conversely, if demand falls off at a time of increased supply, prices will drop sharply, in the face of which trappers will withdraw from the activity and volume of harvest will also decline. But in the following seasons, if demand remains the same or increases, the price will be driven up as more people want a smaller available volume and will pay more to get the fur.

This is how the supply and demand mechanism of the fur market regulates prices and explains why prices go through such fluctuations as supply and demand work themselves out in cyclical fashion over a number of years. (See, for example, Overview and Highlights of Fur Trade 1930-80, pages 8-9).

How then is a monetary return to the trappers determined? Unlike an industrial worker who produces goods or services for an enterprise for a wage, the Kayahna trapper is an independent commodity producer who sells his product directly or indirectly to the buyers for his/her economic return. In this situation, fluctuations in the price of fur is passed on directly to the trapper: his/her return is based on the inter-relationship of the volume and species of fur trapped and the current market prices. The wage worker is somewhat cushioned from market price fluctuations by the fact that he/she works for an enterprise that is organized in terms of capital cash flow, borrowing power, etc. to keep on functioning. Trappers who are individualized as independent commodity producers, on the other hand, have few if any organized capital reserves to tide them over low market returns for their goods.

The prices that trappers receive on the fur markets, then, are not only beyond their control for the most part, but also do not reflect all the real costs of producing the furs. Factors

of production include equipment, gas, food, as well as the trappers' labour. Here is where government subsidies play a role. Subsidies are supposed to help the trappers cover the costs of producing the fur and getting it to market. However, the trappers are subject not only to the vagaries of the fur market but also to the uncertainties and variations of government subsidy from year to year (as previous discussion has shown). In fact, government subsidy and market returns generally allow the trappers to cover their costs of production except for their labour costs. Thus, in years of low prices and little, if any, subsidy, the trappers have virtually no monetary return for their labour and may not even, in fact, be able to cover their other non-labour costs of production. When market prices are high, the trappers are generally able to cover their costs of production and receive some return for their labour as well.

The question now needs to be asked, who profits from the fur industry? Certainly, the trappers rarely do, as they have trouble enough covering their costs of production quite apart from receiving a fair economic return for their labour. This brings us back to an examination of the role of the Bay in the fur industry because it is the "middle-men" such as the Bay who profit.

There are actually at least four ways that the Bay makes its profits in the fur trade in isolated communities:

1) The Bay can buy furs directly from the trappers at fairly low prices through its Northern Stores and make a profit by selling them at market value plus commission in its auction house.

2) It can ship furs on consignment from the trapper to the auction house where it still makes its commission although the market price is returned to the trapper.

3) Through its sale of goods (traps and equipment, food, clothing, etc.) in the Northern Stores, it makes a profit in the local communities.

4) Finally, through its retail outlet in major department stores, it can make a profit on the sale of the finished garment to the customer.

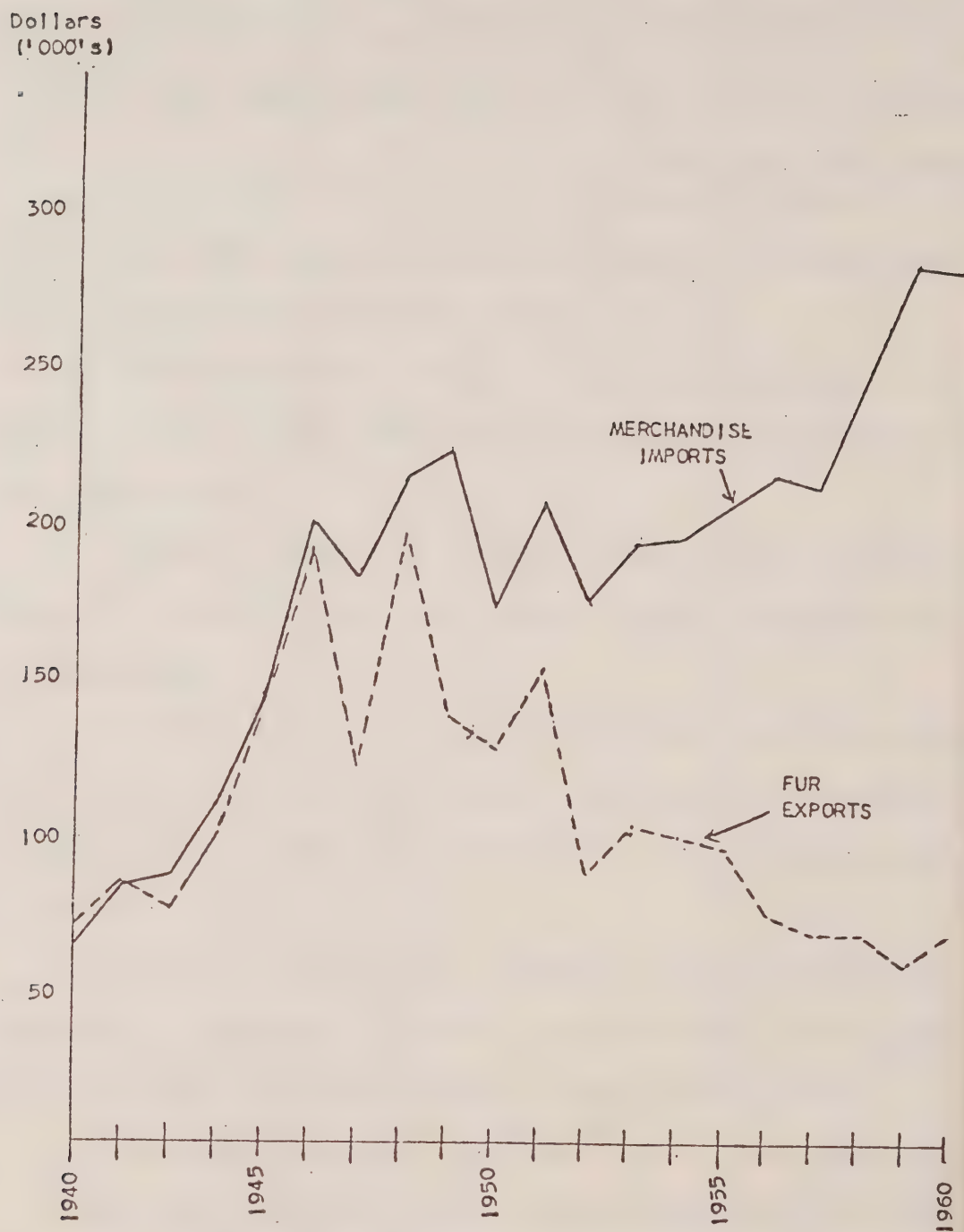
It is important to note that of the four ways the Bay makes its profits, two are directly through the fur trade, and two are through retailing, one of them through the role of Native people as consumers.

As Greenwood noted in the Big Trout Lake Pilot Study, the importance of the Bay as a source of goods as well as an economic outlet for local productions should not be underestimated.

The accompanying figure from that report (see page 71) shows that the dollar value of merchandise imported into the Kayahna Area has grown relative to the value of fur exported

from the area in the 20 years from 1940 to 1960. In general dollar terms, Table 15 shows that there is an increasing commodity imbalance, as the Kayahna communities import more goods than they export.

Figure 18: Dollar Value of Fur Exports and Merchandise Imports, Trout Lake Band Area, 1940-1960.*



* Big Trout Lake Pilot Study, 1964, p. 124

TABLE #15

*
1940-1960

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
YEAR	POPULATION	MERCHANDISE IMPORTS	FUR EXPORTS	EXP. - IMP. COMMODITY BALANCE	PER CAPITA IMPORTS	PER CAPITA EXPORTS	PER CAPITA COMMODITY BALANCE	CONSUMER PRICE INDEX 1949 = 100	REAL GROSS IMPORTS (CORRECTED FOR C.P.I.)	REAL PURCHASE VALUE OF EXPORTS (CORRECTED FOR C.P.I.)	REAL COMMODITY BALANCES COL. 5 LESS PRICE CORRECTED	PER CAPITA REAL COMMODITY BALANCE	PER CAPITA IMPORTS
		Current \$000	Current \$000	Current \$000	Current \$	Current \$	Current \$	Constant	Constant \$000	Constant \$000	Constant	Constant \$	Constant
		(15)	(14)	(15)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1940-1	875	65	71	6	74	81	7	69.6	93	102	9	10	107
1941-2	891	84	85	1	94	95	1	72.9	115	117	1	2	129
1942-3	915	86	76	10	94	83	11	74.2	116	102	14	15	127
1943-4	920	110	100	10	120	109	11	74.6	147	134	13	15	160
1944-5	950	145	144	1	153	152	1	75.0	193	192	1	1	203
1945-6	967	201	193	8	208	200	8	77.5	259	249	10	11	264
1946-7	981	134	123	11	188	125	62	84.8	217	145	72	73	221
1947-8	1,015	215	197	18	212	194	18	97.0	222	203	19	18	217
1948-9	1,040	224	139	85	215	134	82	100.0	224	139	85	82	215
1949-50	1,059	175	128	47	165	121	44	102.9	170	124	46	43	161
1950-1	1,038	207	154	53	190	142	49	113.7	182	135	47	43	167
1951-2	1,120	177	88	89	158	79	79	116.5	152	76	76	68	136
1952-3	1,146	195	104	91	170	91	80	115.5	169	90	79	69	147
1953-4	1,195	196	100	96	165	84	81	116.2	169	86	83	70	142
1954-5	1,244	205	96	110	166	77	88	116.4	177	82	95	76	142
1955-6	1,259	216	75	141	170	59	111	118.1	183	64	119	94	144
1956-7	1,302	215	68	145	164	52	111	121.9	175	66	109	84	134
1957-8	1,330	249	68	181	187	51	136	125.1	199	54	145	109	150
1958-9	1,395	285	58	227	206	42	164	125.5	225	47	179	129	163
1959-60	1,506	224	68	216	203	49	156	128.0	222	53	169	121	159

NOTES: 1) This is for the whole Band, i.e. all settlements including Trout Lake.

2) Source: Indian Affairs Branch Annuity Lists.

3) Source: Hudson's Bay Company, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg.

4) Source: D.B.S., The Consumer Price Index.

The case of Fort Severn supports this, in that the value of fur sales as a percent of merchandise sales has dramatically decreased since 1940, as the following table shows. (Table #16)

Despite the large cyclical fluctuations in fur harvest from 1940-1970 (Table # 17) the overall trend is that the importance of the fur trade now plays a secondary role in relation to the operation of the Bay as a retailer, but is still an important source of profits. The colonial expansion of the Bay began with the extraction of fur as a resource (by 1857, it is estimated that £ 50,000,000 in profit left Canada via the Bay in furs alone). Today, the economic surplus of the region is to a large extent being drained out by the Bay's continuing extraction of furs as a resource and by its profits in the retail trade: the Bay actively underdevelops the region.

The Bay's operation in the fur trade in Canada has a fascinating and little-known parallel in Namibia, South West Africa. Namibia produces more than half the world's supply of karakul, a fur much like Persian lamb. The Bay earns \$1,125,000 each year in commissions alone from its London auction where much of Namibia's fur is sold. The 1974 export value of karakul pelts was \$193-330 million, 60% of which was handled by the Bay. In addition, the karakul farms exploit approximately 20,000 African workers at wages between \$4.50-\$17.50 per month and draw

them into the farming sector from the steady supply of labour migrating from the apartheid system in neighbouring South Africa. As with Native people in Canada, the Bay has been a major cause of, and profits from, the underdevelopment and misery of Southern Africans.

TABLE #16

VALUE OF FUR PURCHASED BY THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL MERCHANDISE SALES¹
FORT SEVERN, ONTARIO *

<u>Year</u> <u>(Oct-Sept)</u>	<u>Fur sales</u> <u>as a % of</u> <u>merchandise</u> <u>sales</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>(Oct-Sept)</u>	<u>Fur sales</u> <u>as a % of</u> <u>merchandise</u> <u>sales</u>
1940-41	105.0	1957-58	33.2
1941-42	108.0	1958-59	36.8
1942-43	99.6	1959-60	48.6
1943-44	104.6	1960-61	33.1
1944-45	118.1	1961-62	35.7
1945-46	98.6	1962-63	38.1
1946-47	69.6	1963-64	31.7
1947-48	114.5	1964-65	28.7
1948-49	84.2	1965-66	35.5
1949-50	60.0	1966-67	22.4
1950-51	96.1	1967-68	18.6
1951-52	61.9	1968-69	37.2
1952-53	76.1	1969-70	12.7
1953-54	72.9	1970-71	14.8
1954-55	77.5	1971-72	25.3
1955-56	37.9	1972-73	21.7
1956-57	31.5		

¹Information kindly provided by Mr. C. Burke, Manager, HBC, Fort Severn.

*Hurlich, Marshall, op.cit. , pg. 201

QUANTITY OF SELECTED FURS PURCHASED
BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY: 1940-1970¹
 FORT SEVERN, ONTARIO *

Year	Beaver	Fox ²	Arctic		Otter
			Fox	Lynx	
1940-41	380	97	7	7	72
1941-42	380	126	7	-	118
1942-43	424	60	11	2	180
1943-44	634	104	-	1	122
1944-45	695	200	1	5	203
1945-46	419	821	14	1	177
1946-47	477	52	8	-	247
1947-48	974	5	3	-	182
1948-49	1711	23	9	-	250
1949-50	931	9	-	-	167
1950-51	1163	56	12	-	315
1951-52	1268	8	1	-	189
1952-53	1029	9	-	-	284
1953-54	553	216	138	1	364
1954-55	464	188	1	5	274
1955-56	244	100	30	2	194
1956-57	196	-	8	-	195
1957-58	463	9	35	-	368
1958-59	366	16	157	2	164
1959-60	634	20	12	12	170
1960-61	778	13	22	14	214
1961-62	747	-	103	11	209
1962-63	691	41	22	19	197
1963-64	679	16	41	12	222
1964-65	697	6	8	2	208
1965-66	880	60	33	4	200
1966-67	749	5	3	8	117
1967-68	868	12	17	-	124
1968-69	1519	71	25	50	178
1969-70	737	20	7	25	96

¹ Information kindly provided by Mr. Ken Ranalli, Relief Manager, HBC, Fort Severn, June, 1972.

² Includes silver, cross, and red fox, which are various color phases of the same species.

* Hurlich, Marshall, op.cit., pg. 200.

2.1.7 North West Territories Trappers' Program

The Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Renewable Resources of the North West Territories has a number of programs which aid trappers in both getting out to the trapline and in marketing their fur harvest. These programs constitute the most advanced and comprehensive incentive-based package available to trappers in any of the provinces and territories, which is probably a reflection of the importance of the fur industry to the people and the economy of the North West Territories as a whole. There are five different programs in all.

2.1.7.1 Trappers' Incentive Grants

Any licenced trapper who has total recorded sales of \$600 or more is automatically entitled to an Incentive Grant. The 1980-81 grant is calculated at 15% of the trappers' sales (1979-80) from \$600 up to a maximum of \$3,000; therefore, the trapper will receive from \$90-\$450. The cheque is received prior to the start of the season. The percentage varies from year to year, depending upon the funds available; this year the 15% consisted of 10% as a general subsidy and 5% as a gasoline subsidy, as the accompanying article indicates. The purpose of the incentive is to offset the high operating costs in the North. The total amount allotted for this program this year is \$230,000; previous year's experience indicates that these totals are generally exceeded.

2.1.7.2 Trappers' Assistance Program

The Trappers' Assistance Program provides interest-free loans for outfitting to any trapper, up to a maximum of \$700. These loans must be repaid within a year but the trapper is eligible year after year for funding. It is possible to repay the loan from the next year's Incentive Grant; in fact, receiving the Incentive Grant is conditional upon repayment of the loan.

2.1.7.3 The Fur Marketing Service

The Fur Marketing Service arranged by the territorial government does not give a direct subsidy to the trapper but rather provides a source by which he can reduce his costs. The trapper takes his fur to the local Fish/Wildlife Officer who advances him up to 75% of the estimated market value of his fur and ships out the fur to the auction house of his choice. After the furs are sold at auction, the auction house repays the government the value of the advance and remits the balance to the trapper, some months later. The trapper's marketing options are to sell either to the local buyer (the Bay or an independent) or to ship out through the government; almost no one ships out on his/her own.

An important element of this program is that the trapper still bears all the costs (packing, shipping, insurance, grading, and auction house commission, etc.) associated with the marketing. The Wildlife Officer provides the service of packing and shipping once the furs are turned over to him. There is some variation

from area to area in the utilization of this program by trappers; a rough estimate is that approximately one-third ship their furs out through this government service.

2.1.7.4 Outpost Camp Program

The Outpost Camp Program gives grants to help people establish themselves on the land, away from the settlements, in order to trap and hunt. The intention is that people will become self-sufficient. The grants are for food and supplies, cabins, transportation to the camps, and for those above the tree line, heating fuel. No equipment is to be bought via this program. Most such camps are in the Arctic and year-round; as the costs are higher there than in the more southerly bush country, most of the money from this program goes there. The amount budgeted for this year is \$350,000 and the expectation is that next year's allocation will be in the order of \$500,000.

2.1.7.5 Primary Producing Activities, Special A.R.D.A.

The Primary Producing Activities funding is administered by the Fish and Wildlife Service but the money actually comes from the federal Department of Regional and Economic Expansion (DREE) via Special A.R.D.A., an agreement negotiated between DREE and the Government of the North West Territories.

There are a number of Federal-Provincial agreements negotiated between D.R.E.E. and each of the provincial and territorial governments. Special A.R.D.A. operates only in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, the Yukon Territory and the North West

Territories: "special" refers to Native people as the group for whom funding is designed. Programs have similar objectives across the provinces but are supposed to allow local input. The second type of agreement of concern here is General A.R.D.A. which has objectives similar to those negotiated under Special A.R.D.A. but exists in the provinces other than those in which Special A.R.D.A. operates. Thus, in Ontario, General A.R.D.A. is in effect and it is under this agreement, co-funded by the federal and provincial governments through DIA and MRN, that the Federal Provincial Resource Development Agreement operates (see Section 2.1.5 above).

The Primary Producing Activities program, then, gives grants for equipment to trappers and hunters, and in that sense complements the Outpost Camp Program, which explicitly does not cover equipment costs. The PPA covers hunting and trapping equipment, building materials and working capital costs. Its intention is to provide people in the traditional economic sector with the benefits of the industrial wage economy, and in that sense to achieve some sort of mix of the two. The Fish and Wildlife Service administers the program through local organizations, which are generally either Band Councils or local Hunters and Trappers Associations, so as to draw on local knowledge and design and control projects more effectively. In areas where there are Native and non-Native hunters and trappers, organized into Band Councils and Hunters and Trappers Associations respectively, this sometimes presents conflict. It is the contention of some that the Government of the North West Territories is

trying to work through the Hunters and Trappers Associations and, therefore, to undermine the local Band Councils.

2.1.8 James Bay Cree and Inuit Income Security Program

The northern Quebec Cree hunters and trappers are eligible for funding from the Income Security Program as a result of signing the James Bay Agreement and extinguishing their aboriginal rights to the lands of James Bay and Northern Quebec.

There are a number of general principles behind the establishment of this program. First, it recognizes that the core of Cree culture is tied up with the land and the hunting and trapping activities upon it. Second, it is designed to protect this way of life by ensuring that these activities constitute a viable way of life for the Cree in the context of the northern economy with transfer payment subsidies. Third, it provides a guaranteed measure of economic security to individual Crees who wish to pursue these activities through a guaranteed income and benefits. Fourth, it recognizes that subsistence activities will take priority over other activities in the renewable resource sector such as sport hunting/fishing and guiding.

Every Cree person eligible under the James Bay Agreement will be eligible for benefits under the following conditions applying to beneficiary units:

- 1) any beneficiary unit the head of which spent more time in harvesting and related activities than in salary or wage employment (excluding guiding, outfitting or commercial fishing or receipt of unemployment insurance, workman's compensation, or manpower training allowances). The head of the beneficiary unit must have spent at least 120 days in harvesting and related

activities of which at least 90 days were spent away from the settlement in conducting such activities;

2) any beneficiary unit which received the greater part of its earnings from harvesting and related activities.

The benefits of the income security program will be calculated taking the following factors into account: the size of the beneficiary unit, the extent of its harvesting activities, and the amount of other income.

1) There is a guaranteed basic amount calculated as the sum of:

- i) an amount of \$1,000 for the head of the beneficiary unit and \$1,000 for his consort, and
- ii) an amount of \$400 for each family and for each unattached individual not living with his parent, grandparent or child, and
- iii) an amount of \$400 for each dependent child under 18 years

2) In addition, each beneficiary unit shall receive a sum based on:

- i) up to a maximum of \$2,400 for each adult, each adult in the beneficiary unit receives \$10 a day for each day spent in the bush in the exercise of harvesting and related activities, and
- ii) \$2 per day for each adult in the beneficiary unit for every day not spent in the bush (provided that days for which he received salary or remuneration from self-employment, or unemployment insurance, workman's

compensation or manpower training allowances are not calculated in this amount).

3) Other income means an amount equal to the sum of:

- i) any income to the beneficiary unit in excess of \$250 per adult in the beneficiary unit, and
- ii) the payments in (2) above, and
- iii) all net income earned in harvesting and related activities, excluding income derived from the sale of furs; as well as net income from guiding, commercial fishing and from all other sources, excluding government transfer payments and any other guaranteed annual income programs.

Each unit will receive a sum equal to the amount of the guaranteed basic amount calculated in (1) above less an amount equal to the sum of old age security pension payments received by the unit and 40% of all other income.

Thus, a family of two adults and four children spending 120 days in harvesting activities will have a guaranteed income of approximately \$7,800. This is calculated as \$4,000 in (1) above, plus \$2,500 in (2) (based on 120 days X \$10 X 2 adults + 50 other days in which both did not receive any other form of income as defined in (2)ii above) plus \$1,300 in (3) above (based on \$2,000 total fur sales, \$4,000 in guaranteed benefits and \$1,000 as additional income from guiding).

The head of the beneficiary unit receives four annual payments on or about September 1, January 2 and April 1, and within 15 days of filing his benefit form which contains information

on the year just ended and estimates for the following year. The September, January and April payments each consist of an amount equal to one quarter of the estimated total annual payment.

There are two important points to consider when looking at the James Bay Guaranteed Income Security Program. The first is that it is a guaranteed income program, based on the family as the harvesting unit and on the extent of harvesting activities. The price of furs may fluctuate extensively but the family unit will be relatively cushioned from low prices while not being excessively penalized during times of high prices. The income will be received regardless of the prices for fur. The guaranteed income program must be distinguished from the incentive grant program such as the North West Territories Trappers' Program which provides direct subsidies for certain operating costs but still shifts the burden of price fluctuations on to the trapper.

The second point is that the Income Security Program resulted from the land claims settlement negotiated between the James Bay Cree and the Inuit of Northern Quebec. Thus, it came out of a particular historical context in which the Native people, never having signed a treaty before, extinguished their aboriginal rights to the land and its resources in exchange for specified claims as outlined in the Agreement. They were forced to do so in the face of massive hydroelectric development being pushed by the Government of Quebec. In other words, this Agreement can be

viewed as a modern-day treaty where none existed previously, and is, in general terms, characterized by the same type of unequal exchange between Native people and (in this case, the provincial) government. The issue is one of the struggle of the Cree and Inuit for the survival of their land-based economy and culture in the face of the aggressive resource extraction by the provincial government and private industry for corporate profit.

2.1.9 Trapping: Recommendations

Both MNR and DIA officials in Sioux Lookout indicated that the fur potential was not utilized to capacity in the Kayahna Area. A problem exists in quantifying the actual number of animals/species killed in total: we have the figures from MNR as to the number of pelts sealed and exported for the commercial market, but we don't know how many animals were trapped for domestic useage of their fur. In addition, it is impossible to tell from those figures how many animals were killed for food and other uses on the trapline or for sale/exchange in the communities themselves. Usher notes that any assessment of the value of country produce that relies on official sources underestimates the true volume of domestic production by 5 to 50%, and maybe more. In order to estimate accurately the potential of the fur industry in the Kayahna Area for the benefit of Kayahna people it is essential that Kayahna trappers and decision-makers undertake a detailed study of the fur-bearing species as the resource base.

1. *Therefore, we recommend that Kayahna residents do a thorough harvesting study to estimate the fur resource base and its commercial potential, and that funding be obtained for this as soon as possible.*

A major problem still exists in some if not all of the Kayahna communities with respect to trapper dependency on the Hudson's Bay Company. The MNR statistics on the number of pelts

sealed and exported for sale do not give the breakdown of how many of those were taken by the Bay, nor will the Bay--in the communities or in the South--release this information. However, we do know the Bay makes a profit in two places: through its Northern Stores when it buys the furs outright from the trapper, and at the Auction House where its commission includes both operating costs and profits. According to information from the communities, the Bay's prices to the trapper are lower than OTA's, and its commission at auction is from 7-10%. The OTA's commission was 5% last year and has dropped to 4% because of high revenues, as explained above. The OTA's explicit philosophy is to help get better returns for the trappers and to provide education to its members.

2. A. *Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna communities develop and strengthen existing links with the OTA in order to obtain better returns for the trappers. We also recommend that the band councils attempt to increase the amount of fur going to OTA as opposed to the Bay by motivating trappers at the community level. For example, they could be made aware more specifically of how the fur industry works and how they are exploited, and enter into general discussions as to what they can do to strengthen their control over the industry and increase their returns.*

A problem existing across the North is that OTA is not readily accessible to the trappers on a daily basis in the same

way that the Bay is. As it exists now, furs are collected by Mike Nothing who operates out of Bearskin Lake but transportation problems prevent easy access.

2. B. Therefore, we recommend that closer links be established with the OTA buyer(s) closest at hand. One way of doing this would be for the Kayahna Council to appoint people in each community, if possible, to work with OTA. There are training courses available from or that could be designed with OTA for local buyers.

A number of people identified trappers' education as an important need at the community level. Small flaws resulting from faulty cutting, skinning, stretching, etc. can result in a lower grade of pelt and a 20-50% loss of income to the trapper. Both OTA and MNR hold education workshops in the North but it is important that those be run by local people.

3. A. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna Council make trappers' education a priority and obtain funding from MNR and/or OTA to hold trappers' education workshops in the communities, which would be run wherever possible by experienced Kayahna trappers, drawing on local skills and resources. Workshops should include such topics as trapping techniques, processing, grading, marketing, and education.

People at the community level expressed much concern about the loss of trapping skills by younger people who are being educated in southern-oriented ways. Currently, two ways of dealing with this occur. One way is to have a trappers' education program offered in the school, as in Big Trout Lake. The second way is to have greater community involvement and encourage elders and the families to take children out to the traplines, as at Kingfisher Lake.

3. B. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna Council make trappers' education for young people a priority, and examine appropriate ways for this to take place in each community. In particular, we recommend that the Council begin discussions with OTA on this subject, because OTA has a mandate to provide trappers' education and seems to have an interest in doing so at the community level, and in a way that would involve the elders. Also, we recommend that the Kayahna Council consider developing a modified school year program that would allow Kayahna school-age children to trap with their families but still have access to the public education system.

The Kayahna Council has already taken an important step toward organizing trapping on a local and on an Area basis, by hiring Eleazer Anderson as the Co-ordinator of the Kayahna Sectoral Program. His strategy is to organize local trappers into Trappers' Council.

4. A. Therefore, we recommend that with the Trappers' Councils as the local base and the Trapping Co-ordinator as the overall co-ordinator, Kayahna Area trappers co-ordinate their transportation and marketing network to cut freight and other costs. Such co-ordination should also include the Trappers' Councils meeting to discuss issues of common concern. An Area distribution system could, for example, link up efficiently with OTA for fur marketing.

Local organization into Trappers' Councils is important at the community level, as is organization of the Councils on an Area basis. However, it is vital that links be made regionally so that trappers can benefit from more information, more human and other resources and can share their knowledge and resources.

4. B. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna Council establish links through the Trapping Co-ordinator with other Development Areas within Treaty #9 to look at issues of common concern, such as trapline management, education, marketing, and transportation.

A number of people expressed concern about the individualization of the trapline management system through the registered trapline program, and indicated an interest in exploring community based alternatives more in keeping with local tradition and needs.

5. Therefore, we recommend that Kayahna trappers examine the advantages and disadvantages of the community trapline management program as it works in other parts of Ontario, to see if such a system would apply well in Kayahna communities. In particular,

we suggest that Kayahna trappers look at the Constance Lake community trapline program, near Hearst, in northeastern Ontario.

There are specific ways in which underdevelopment occurs in the trapping industry, and a number of those have been described above (such as marketing problems, the operation of the Bay). The most serious problem, and therefore the one which acts most strongly on trappers to prevent them from utilizing the fur resource to its capacity, is undercapitalization: this means that there is not enough capital to finance the trappers to get them out to and staying on their traplines in order that their returns make it worthwhile for them to trap. Subsidies are intended to give trappers financial assistance with equipment and operating costs as incentives to trap. The government does this with trappers in the same way (but unfortunately not to the same extent) that it subsidizes private industry by building roads, railway lines and in some cases serviced towns in order to give private industry incentive to establish themselves in an area. But what little subsidies are given often come too little and too late. When this happens, the trappers are forced to take a credit advance from the Bay or independent buyers which reinforces the cycle of debt and dependency. This means that they are usually unable to sell their furs anywhere else but the Bay, which then is able to force them to sell at low prices. In addition, when they do get a cheque, they are often forced (through having nowhere else to go) to cash it at the Bay and pay off their debt, but then also

to buy trapping equipment and supplies from the Bay.

It is clear that subsidies can act as incentives but can do nothing to shift the burden of severe price fluctuations common to the fur industry away from the trapper. The trapper must still pay most of the costs of harvesting, shipping, grading and selling his fur, regardless of the price of fur or the amount of subsidy. The only means by which the trapper can be cushioned from the effects of a fall in prices is through the kind of guaranteed annual income support program found in the James Bay agreement. Subsidy and guaranteed income support programs differ in their operation and intent, but are alike in the sense that the money comes from government at the Federal and/or Provincial levels.

It is highly unlikely--unless a guaranteed annual income support for trappers were to become a principle in a successfully re-negotiated Treaty #9--that a guaranteed annual income program will be established for Native trappers in Northern Ontario. Rather, it is most likely that the government will continue to use subsidies as its form of assistance to trappers.

If the Kayahna communities' goal is to maximize economic self-sufficiency in the trapping industry, that is, to make trapping economically worthwhile for the trappers, then they must

- 1) have a clear knowledge of the resource base in order to utilize it to capacity and conserve it for future generations,
- 2) be efficiently organized so as to reduce costs, and
- 3) consider what level of subsidization they need and in what form such subsidization should come.

6. A. We recommend that the Kayahna community consider what level of subsidization they need and in what form such subsidization should come. Subsidies can come in the form of outright grants, no-interest loans, or low-interest loans. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna Council consider what mixture of the three forms of subsidy are needed at various stages as it moves toward greater self-sufficiency. For example, while in the initial stages of becoming more efficiently organized, the trappers will need grants. As the industry becomes more viable, it is possible that the trappers will be able to re-pay the no-interest loans, and eventually be self-sustaining enough to repay their loans with low interest.

It will be impossible, because of high costs in the North and marketing costs generally, to break away entirely from government subsidy. However, Kayahna trappers can consider ways to be mutually supportive and self-sustaining without government funding and regulation.

6. B. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna Council investigate with the trappers and the appropriate agencies setting up a Credit Union for Kayahna trappers which will help them finance themselves in a co-operative manner.

We also recommend that the Kayahna Council examine ways that the trappers might informally share their resources--for example, setting aside a portion of their furs or returns into a bank account which can be used for traps, equipment, transportation.

etc. to the benefit of those in need and which might be under the control of the local Trappers' Councils.

6. C. While organizing at the community level more efficiently, we recommend that the Kayahna communities work through Treaty #9 to pursue their objectives at the provincial and federal policy levels. It is important that the Kayahna Council work with the other Development Area Councils within Treaty #9 to develop a coherent policy on subsidization, education, marketing and processing in the fur industry.

6. D. We also recommend that the Kayahna communities work through Treaty #9 with the other Provincial Treaty Organizations, where possible, to pursue specific policy and subsidy objectives at the provincial and federal levels. For example, Treaty #9 sits with the three other Ontario Treaty Organizations on the Federal/Provincial Resource Development Agreement Advising Committee and therefore has some limited input into what projects are passed; however, the Native organizations should also have input into the shaping of guidelines for the kinds of projects that will be funded.

The threat of large-scale development (especially from mining in the Kayahna Area, and the possible destructive impact of large-scale logging to the immediate south) hangs over the Kayahna communities and jeopardizes the future of the reserve base for trapping, fishing, small-scale forestry and logging. The Kayahna communities are forced to consider how best to

safeguard their land and its resources from possible destruction.

6. E. We recommend, therefore, that the Kayahna communities consider and discuss at the local level the concept of "economic zones", as buffer zones around each community, the resources of which will be owned and controlled by the people themselves. It is important that the communities have an adequate knowledge of the resource base to determine what size such zones must be in order to support as far as possible the local population. The economic zone concept is being discussed by other Treaty #9 communities, such as the settlements of Webequie and Landsdowne House, and can be discussed also at the Treaty #9 level.

2.2 Subsistence and Commercial Fishing

2.2.1 Historical Overview

Historically, fish have always been a major staple in the diet of the Northern Ojibway; particularly sturgeon, whitefish, trout and pickerel. Subsistence fishing has been traditionally carried out by the women, while commercial fishing has been engaged in by men. Harvesting fish as a trade good began in the 1700-1800's when the Hudson's Bay Company hired local Indians to supply their posts with fish for the winter. But it was not until the 1930's that the Patricia's were exploited commercially; at that time sturgeon was the most marketable species and the newly-developed transportation network via the CNR tracks and winter tractors and aircraft allowed for its easy export from the area. The first commercial fishery in the Kayahna Area began at Wunnumun Lake in 1934 when an airline company from Nakina/Armstrong Area started to buy fish from Indians' summer camps. Fisheries for less valuable species (pickerel and whitefish) began around 1948 as the sturgeon stocks were overfished. Commercial fishing increased substantially in the 1950's-60's, helped by higher prices, solid markets and increased capital investment. In the 1960's the Big Trout Lake fishery was run by Indian Affairs Branch which hired local people as labourers. This eventually gave way in the late 1960's to Band control of the fishery. A licencing

system was introduced in 1950 by Ontario Lands and Forests; at first, only the total length and mesh size of the net or the number of sturgeon hooks to be used were specified, and the fisheries officers specified quotas on species (with revisions as new data was brought in). Today, the basis for most quotas is the morphoedaphic index (MEI), a fish yield estimator consisting of two components: the total dissolved solids and the mean depth of the lakes.

In 1960, according to Martin Hyde quoted by Greenwood in the 1964 Big Trout Lake Pilot Study, the estimated amount of fish consumed domestically in Big Trout Lake was 205,000 pounds per year; this amounted to approximately one pound of fish per person per day. Fish was then an extremely important part of the diet of people in Big Trout Lake. By the 1970's, it appears that subsistence fishing was no longer a significant feature of the general Ojibway economy except in a few northern settlements, according to Rogers, although some ties to traditional family and cultural patterns of fishing remained overall. For the Kiyahna Area, however, we can estimate that fish continues to form an important part of the local diet.

In the 1960's generally, the commercial fishery in some areas of the West Patricia Planning Area surpassed trapping and became the most important employment opportunity. However,

Greenwood contends that the fishery in Big Trout Lake was at that time an adjunct to trapping, as almost all of the fishery income went to trappers who engaged in the fishery in their spare time. Another trend emerging in the early 1960's is shown in Table #18 that participation in the fishery was declining but the fishermen were catching more per fisherman, that is, their productivity was increasing. However, the overall fish harvest was not growing significantly.

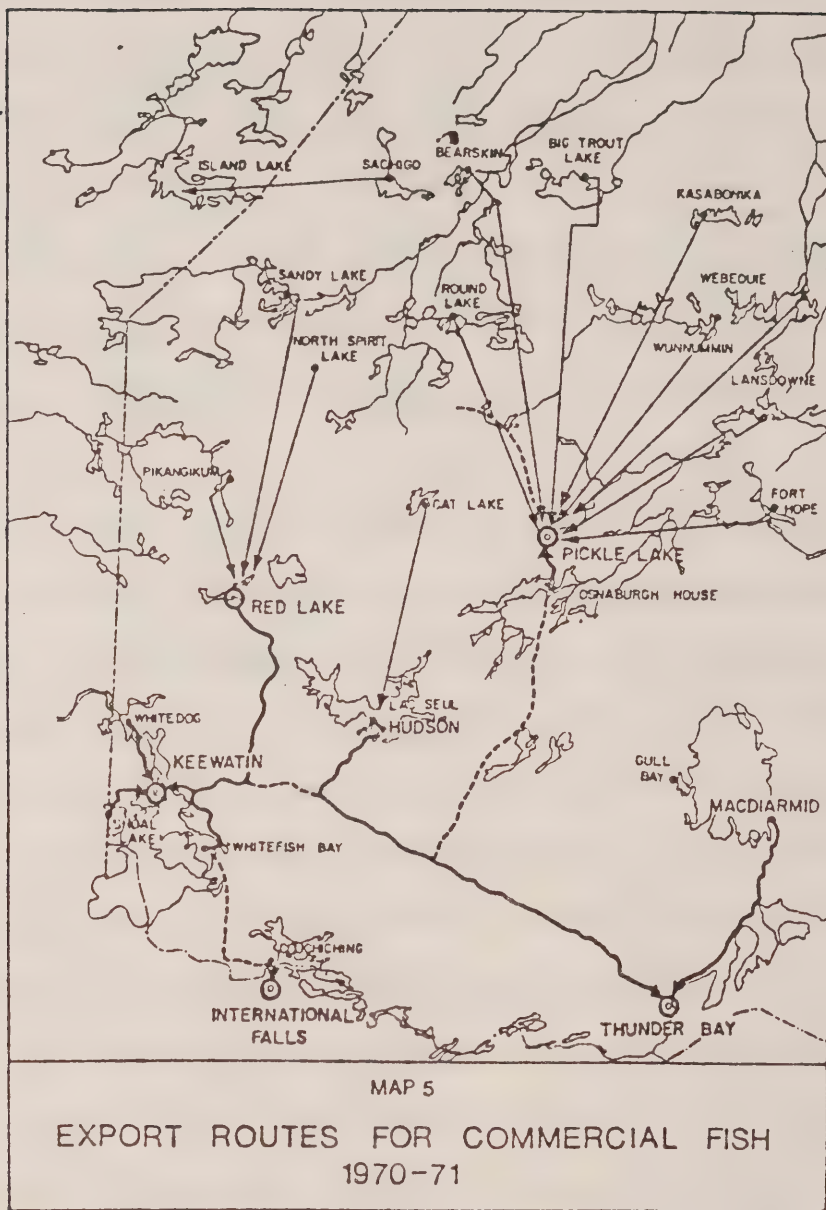
By the late 1960's production, value and participation of local fishermen had declined drastically throughout the inland fishery in northwestern Ontario (as well as in Canada generally). The federal government established the Fresh-Water Fish Marketing Corporation to provide better market control, to eliminate fluctuations in fish prices, to improve the returns to the fishermen, in an attempt to revive the commercial fishing industry. Its functions are to pack, transport and market fish, and to make loans and advances to the fishermen for working capital. Fish from the Kayahna Area is flown out to Pickle Lake, and from there transported to southern markets (see map on Export Routes for Commercial Fish 1970-71, on pg.101).

ITEM	1959	1960	1961
A. Whole Fishery - All Fishermen¹⁾			
1 Total Fishery Catch (lbs)	106,690	113,634	103,698
2 Number of Fishermen	45	48	35
3 Catch per Fisherman (lbs)	2,371	2,367	2,963
4 Catch of Best Ten Fishermen (lbs)	58,474	46,277	71,678
5 Per Capita Catch of Best Ten (lbs)	5,847	4,628	7,188
6 Catch of Best Ten as % of Total	54.8	40.7	69.3
7 Catch of Best 10% (lbs)	(5) 33,505 ²⁾	(5) 21,590	(4) 34,909
8 Per Capita Catch of Best 10% (lbs)	6,701	4,318	8,727
9 Catch of Best 10% as % of Total	31.4	19.0	33.7
B. Trout Lake Fishermen Only			
10 Total Catch (lbs)	70,601	63,220	103,698
11 Number of Fishermen	32	27	35
12 Catch per Fisherman (lbs)	2,206	2,341	2,963
13 Catch of Best Ten Fishermen (lbs)	47,801	42,750	71,678
14 Per Capita Catch of Best Ten (lbs)	4,780	4,275	7,188
15 Catch of Best Ten as % of Trout Lake Total	67.7	67.6	69.3
16 Catch of Best Ten as % of Fishery Total	44.8	37.6	69.3
17 Catch of best 10% (lbs)	(3) 17,999	(3) 16,966	(4) 34,909
18 Per Capita Catch of Best 10% (lbs)	6,000	5,593	8,727
19 Catch of Best 10% as % of Trout Lake Total	25.5	26.8	33.7
20 Catch of Best 10% as % of Fishery Total	16.9	14.9	33.7
21 Trout Lake Catch as % of Fishery Total	66.2	55.6	100.0

1) i.e., including fishermen from Bearskin and Kasabonaka.

2) Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of fishermen, i.e. in 1959, 10% of all fishermen (45) numbered 5 for the purposes of these calculations.

*Greenwood, Martin, 1964. Big Trout Lake: A Pilot Study of an Indian Community, Ottawa: Department of Citizenship & Immigration, pg. 99.



Source: Rogers, Edward S., 1972. Ojibway Fisheries in Northwestern Ontario, Ministry of Natural Resources, Commercial Fish & Fur Branch, Division of Fish and Wildlife.

2.2.2 Current Extent

The Sioux Lookout District comprises 50% of the West Patricia Planning Area. In the district, commercial licences have been issued to eight settlements and twelve individuals, three settlements of which are in the Kiyahna Area (Kingfisher Lake, Kassabonika Lake and Wunnumun Lake). According to Carlson's report, Kingfisher Lake had 10 fishermen out of its population of 230, and Wunnumun Lake had 11 fishermen out of its population of 275 in 1976. This does not adequately reflect the number of people involved in the commercial fishery, however, since wives and children are sometimes also engaged in the work. The number of Indian fishermen in the Sioux Lookout District is 81 men.

According to the Socio-Economic Inventories for 1974, Kingfisher Lake had 10 men engaged in commercial fishing; from 1973-78, its yearly average harvest was \$5,122 for 5,154 kilograms of fish (see Table 19 Harvest and Value For Kingfisher and Wunnumun Lake). At Wunnumun Lake, the Band budget for the 1979 Fishery was \$11,927, for both summer and winter. It is not clear how many men are engaged in the fishery, although mention is made of a Band Resource Development Officer who has responsibility for commercial fishing. From 1973-78, the community's yearly average production was 12,653 kilograms which brought in \$15,132 (see Table 19). For both Kingfisher Lake and Wunnumun Lake, the

average price per pound per year was 66¢. At Kassabonika in 1974, 10 men were engaged in the commercial fishery and two local lakes were licenced for the commercial fishery. As at Kingfisher and Wunnumun Lakes, the licence was fished by the settlement, the Band Council administered the fisheries, and the internal functioning was the responsibility of a committee.

Both the actual poundage caught and the estimated returns from the commercial fishery are well below the quota and the potential value of the fishery, indicating that the resource is very much underutilized. For example, in 1976, the total quota for the Kayahna Area was 296,500 pounds, and its total value (if the whole quota had been caught) would have been \$158,510. (see Table 20: 1976 Quota and Quota Value Estimates). However, as Table 21 shows, the total actual value of the fishery for that year was only \$31,427, based on 53,037 lbs. having been fished: only 18% of the quota was actually fished, with the result that only 20% of the potential quota value was realized. Similarly, according to Carlson, the 1977 harvest was only 57% of quota; the 1978 harvest was only 37% of quota.

The 1979 figures in Tables 22 and 23 show a similar picture. Total quota equaled 226,500 pounds but actual production was only 65,347 pounds or 29% of quota. The gross value of the harvest was only \$41,040.69, with average weekly income per fisherman

in the range of \$155.65.

In overall terms, between 1973-78, then, only 38% of quota was harvested in the Sioux Lookout District, according to the Commercial Fish paper of the West Patricia Land Use Plan. In terms of the numbers employed, the Northwestern Ontario Fisheries Situation Report noted in 1978 that there was definite room for expansion: Wunnumun Lake could increase its participation from 11 to 22 fishermen; Kingfisher from 10 to 25 fishermen; while Kassabonika was at its ideal number of 8 fishermen, given the existing quota. Of all the Kayahna communities in 1979, Kassabonika came closest to reaching its overall quota, although it was still substantially under-harvested in the production of yellows.

A number of factors for this decrease in potential have been put forward by MNR:

- 1) young people are not entering the industry;
- 2) rising costs of production and fluctuating market prices make it an unstable sector;
- 3) conflict (real or imagined) with sport fishing in some areas;
- 4) 30% of all fish licences are not actively fished.

People in the Kayahna Area point to other difficulties:

- 1) high transportation costs penalize northern isolated

communities such as their own; the transportation costs are expected to be greater than the cost of the fish itself, making the market price unreasonably high, and profits next to impossible. For example, in 1977, average transportation costs were 20¢/lb., whereas the price paid to the fishermen was an average 40¢/lb. In 1981, it is expected that transportation costs will average 30¢/lb. but the price to fishermen will average 20¢/lb. for fish. A side effect of this is that northern communities must fish only the higher grades of fish;

2) sometimes the quotas imposed by MNR are too low to make fishing worthwhile, especially coupled with high transportation costs;

3) question of government subsidy: there are no direct subsidies to fishermen in terms of production costs (other than freight assistance), unlike the trapping sector;

4) freight equalization payments to commercial fishermen are given out for only certain species; for example, for whitefish and pike. Wunnumun Lake, however, fished almost all pickerel and so received very little in freight subsidy;

5) 80% of the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation's production goes to the USA, so prices to the community fluctuate according to the value of the Canadian dollar.

The Ontario freight equalization program is meant to encourage those with higher costs to fish for lower-priced species.

In 1979, the average price per kilo of fish = 94¢; the average flying cost = 26¢/kilo; and the equalization paid averaged 8¢/kilo for all species except walleye. As an examination of Table 22.: 1979 Quotas, Production and Value for Kayahna Fishing Communities makes apparent, returns to the communities from F.E.A.P. varies greatly according to the species caught. For Kassabonika, for example, 32,808 lbs. was harvested, 86% of which was whitefish, a species receiving F.E.A.P., so that the fishermen got back \$7,163.02 in freight equalization payments. For Kingfisher, however, 72% of its 12,882 lb. catch was yellowfish, an unsubsidized species, so that the amount returned to the fishermen was \$770.26 in freight equalization payments. And at Wunnumun Lake, 93% of its 19,657 lb. catch was yellowfish, so that it received a mere \$271.54 in equalization payments.

Fishing, however, provides other usages to the Kayahna Area in addition to its commercial value. It is of value to the subsistence economy as country food. While exact figures are not available, an overall estimate based on community information is that fish form a substantial part of the country food, and country food contributes approximately 20-50% or more to total food consumption, depending on the community. The third value of the fishery is in the income it brings into the Kayahna Area from sports fishing/tourist camp operations. Currently, the

Big Trout Lake Band operates the Bugg River Camp fishing lodge and employs 10 local men through the summer months; the Camp made a \$10,000 profit in 1979 and \$11,000 in 1980, although DIA underwrites much of the capital and operating costs.

The possible conflict between commercial fishing, domestic fishing and tourism does apply in the Kayahna communities presently involved in commercial fishing. The people in Kingfisher, for example, are trying not to rely too heavily on commercial fishing because they want to conserve fish for their own use as country food. They are thinking more of becoming involved in tourism, and since MNR policy is to have one or the other, the community is leaning in the direction of tourism. This may be a wise policy in the long run: if a sport fishery/tourist operation is well-promoted and managed it could bring in much additional income and generate much-needed employment. As to WPLUP Fisheries Technical Report No. 2 on Sport Fishing notes, non-resident and resident (not including Native users) together contributed \$9.2 million per year to the economy of the West Patricia Planning Area. This is greatly in excess of the current value to West Patricia of the commercial fishery. A major question for Kayahna communities, however, is whether they want to engage in this type of service (versus productive) industry and whether they feel then can contain the possible negative effects of tourism.

in their communities.

The WPLUP Fisheries Technical Report No. 2 also points out that in some cases in the West Patricia Planning Area, the maximum sustained yield (according to MNR quotas) is currently being removed by sport fishing alone. This would imply either that sports fishing and commercial fishing are incompatible at their current levels or that the quotas are too low. Walleye, for example, is the most often caught species, one of the most highly valued fish for both commercial and sport fishermen (according to the Faunal Species list on pages 115-116), but it is only the third most prevalent species among all those in the lakes of the West Patricia Area.

These are the existing and potential conflicts between commercial and domestic and sport fishing that an economic development plan must attempt to reconcile.

TABLE #19

HARVEST (kg) AND VALUE OF HARVEST (\$)FOR KINGFISHER AND WUNNUMUN LAKES, 1973-1978^{1*}

Fishery	No. of Lakes	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	Yearly Average
<u>Kingfisher</u> harvest (kg)	3	4,903	6,039	4,090	5,013	5,336	5,544	5,154
value (\$)		4,186	5,002	3,881	6,248	7,636	3,781	5,122
<u>Wunnumun</u> harvest (kg)	2	15,114	11,916	11,646	13,398	15,236	8,607	12,653
value (\$)		13,230	9,333	11,017	19,563	26,402	11,249	15,132
Average Price for Sioux Lookout District (\$/kg)		\$0.61	\$0.57	\$0.69	\$0.87	\$0.72	\$0.54	\$0.66

¹There is a fairly large discrepancy between Carlson's figures and those from the Northwestern Ontario Fisheries Situation Report contained in Table 21: Actual Pounds and Estimated Actual Value 1972-77, especially relating to Kingfisher. This could be because Carlson included only 3 lakes in the Kingfisher licence, while the Northwestern Ontario Task Force included more than 4.

*From: Carlson, E., 1979, Commercial Fishing in the West Patricia Planning Area,
West Patricia Land Use Plan Fisheries Technical Report No. 1, Kenora: Ontario
Ministry of Natural Resources

Fishery	Lake	Quotas (lbs)		Estimated Quota Value (\$/species)		Estimated Total Quota Value 19761
		Whitefish	Pickrel	Whitefish Pickrel (.30/lb) (.67/lb)		
Big Trout	Misikeyash Kino and Fawn	10,000	10,000	\$3,000	\$6,700	\$15,290
		3,000	7,000	900	4,690	
		13,000	17,000	\$3,900	\$11,390	
Kingfisher	Kingfisher Maria Misamikwash Assin (ETC)	5,000	10,000(R)	\$1,500	\$6,700	\$33,560
		6,000	12,000	1,800	8,040	
		8,000	6,000	2,400	4,020	
		8,000	10,000	2,400	6,700	
		27,000	38,000	\$8,100	\$25,460	
Wunnumum	Batch/Reeb Wunnumum	11,000	25,000	\$3,300	\$16,750	\$58,800
		17,500	50,000(R)	5,250	33,500	
		28,500	75,000	\$8,550	\$50,250	
Kassabonika	Kassabonika Shibogama Long Dog	10,000	26,000	\$3,000	\$17,420	\$50,860
		20,000	30,000	6,000	20,100	
		10,000	2,000(R)	3,000	1,340(R)	
		40,000	58,000	\$12,000	\$38,860	
Kayahna Area Totals:		108,500	188,000	\$32,550	\$125,960	\$158,510

(R) Mercury Restriction

(ETC) Multiple Lakes on the Licence

*If fished up to quota (potential value)

From: The Northwestern Ontario Fisheries Situation Report, the Northwestern Ontario Commercial Fisheries Task Force, April 1978.

TABLE #21

ACTUAL POUNDS & ESTIMATED ACTUAL VALUE
INDIVIDUAL FISHERIES
1972-1977

Community	Actual Pounds					
	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Wunnumun	13,955	35,506	26,168	25,669	28,537	37,355
Kingfisher	11,251	9,597	13,314	9,026	9,900	11,015
Kassbonika	14,556	28,486	0	0	14,600	15,224
Total	39,762	73,589	39,482	34,695	53,037	63,594

Community	Estimated Actual Value					
	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Wunnumun	\$6,252	\$14,069	\$10,270	\$11,316	\$19,120	\$29,481
Kingfisher	4,352	4,010	5,283	4,084	5,873	7,904
Kassabonika	3,974	7,059	0	0	6,434	6,950
Total	\$14,578	\$25,138	\$15,553	\$15,400	\$31,427	\$44,335

From: The Northwestern Ontario Fisheries Situation Report, the
Northwestern Ontario Commercial Fisheries Task Force, April 1978

TABLE #22

1979 QUOTAS, PRODUCTION AND VALUE FOR KAYAHNA FISHING COMMUNITIES¹

Band	Lake	Quotas			Production (lbs.)			Value (\$)	F.E.A.P. (Whites and Jacks only)	Annual Freight Costs ²
		Whites	Yellows	Jacks	Whites	Yellows	Jacks			
Kassabonika	Kassabonika	10,000	26,000	---	8,514	2,153	663	\$ 6,061.48	\$2,242.26	\$ 2,124.00
	Shibogama	30,000	10,000	---	19,630	1,042	806	10,596.58	4,920.76	4,141.00
Kingfisher								\$16,658.06	\$7,163.02	\$ 6,265.00
	Mario	6,000	12,000	---	120	2,480	276	\$ 2,145.98	73.68	802.58
	Misamikwash	8,000	6,000	---	2,052	1,160	---	1,612.94	491.90	409.87
	Kingfisher	5,000	10,000	---	638	5,649	507	5,072.98	204.68	453.10
Wunnumun								\$ 8,831.90	\$ 770.26	\$ 1,417.13
	Wunnumun	17,500	50,000	---	520	12,304	399	\$10,467.37	\$ 173.12	\$ 3,445.69
	Batch/Reeb	11,000	25,000	---	518	5,916	---	5,083.36	98.42	444.02
								\$15,550.73	\$ 271.54	\$ 3,889.71
Total Kayahna Quotas, Production and Value		87,500	139,000	---	31,992	30,704	2,651	\$41,040.69	\$8,204.82	\$11,571.84

¹ MNR Sioux Lookout District Office² These costs are lower when the fishermen are able to take advantage of backhaul arrangements and ship fish out at split charter rates or at no cost. High freight costs reflect the fact that the major part of the harvest was yellow fish (as in Kingfisher and Wunnumun) but F.E.A.P. is given only on whites and jacks.

TABLE #23

1979 FISHERMEN'S AND COMMUNITY INCOME FROM FFMC

No. of Fishermen	No. of weeks fished each	Weekly cheque average	Community Income	Average Income per Fisherman
9 men	4 weeks each	\$109.37	\$3,937.32	\$10,955.79 Community Income
9 men	4 weeks each	124.22	4,471.92	\div 28, total number of men
5 men	1 week each	268.69	1,343.45	= \$391.28 for an average of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ weeks work
5 men	2 weeks each	120.31	1,203.10	
KAYAHNA AREA TOTALS:				
28 men	11 weeks	\$622.59 \div 4 = \$155.65 weekly cheque average	\$10,955.79	

From: Information from MNR, Sioux Lookout District Office

TABLE #24

HARVEST (kg) AND VALUE OF HARVEST (\$)BY SPECIES FOR 1977 FOR KINGFISHER AND WUNNUMUN LAKES*

Fishery	Walleye	Whitefish	Northern Pike	Totals
<u>Kingfisher</u>				
harvest (kg)	4,190	1,146	0	5,336
value (\$)	7,390	246	0	7,636
<u>Wunnumun</u>				
harvest (kg)	14,931	117	188	15,236
value (\$)	26,333	13	56	26,402
Average Price in Sioux Lookout District (\$/kg)	\$1.73	\$0.62	\$0.28	\$0.88

*Carlson, E., 1979, Op. cit.

Common Name	Scientific Name	Habitat		Breeding/Reproduction	Food	Predators/Competitors	Sensitivity	Use/Value
		Adult	Spawning					
Brook Trout	<i>Salvelinus fontinalis</i>	clear, cool (<20°), well oxygenated streams and lakes	shallow gravel beds in streams. May spawn in shallow parts of lakes if there is spring upwelling or a moderate current. Upper lethal limit for developing eggs 11.7°C.	spawn Sept.-Oct. egg incubation 50-100 days depending on temp	carnivorous wide variety of fish, insects, limited cannibalism.	Predators: mainly birds also piscivorous species sharing same habitat minck, otter, etc.	changes in water temp or quality and/or loss of spawning habitat due to siltation, channelization, impounding, diverting, etc. overpopulation	sport fish
Lake Trout	<i>Salvelinus namaycush</i>	deep, clear cold lakes generally prefer 10°C temp. summer in hypolimnion (20-60 meters)	large boulder or rubble bottom in depths less than 12 meters. rarely in rivers.	spawn Sept.-Oct. actual time varies widely with latitude temp and lake size & topography incubation time 4-5 months egg hatch March-April.	mainly carnivorous. food chosen largely on basis of availability.	egg predation by whitefish, burbot, cisco, etc.	extremely sensitive to changes in water chemistry. loss of spawning beds through siltation. Generally lower productivity, very susceptible to overharvest cottaging	commercial and sport fish
Lake White-Fish	<i>Coregonus clupeaformis</i>	generally, deep cold lakes. summer in hypolimnion close to bottom. occasionally found in warm shallow lakes in NW Ontario.	hard or stoney bottom. occasionally over sand in depths less than 8 meters & temps less than 8°C.	spawn Oct.-Nov. hatch Apr.-May. egg temp must be kept low (8°C)	bottom feeders invertebrates fishes and occasionally eggs.	Predators: trout, pike, burbot, walleye, other whitefish.	egg incubation temp less than 8-9°C. temp. sensitive.	most valuable commercial fresh water fish limited sportfish value in NW Ontario
Cisco	<i>Coregonus artedii</i>	large schools in deep lakes.	variety of bottoms prefer gravel or stone. shallow water (3 meters. temp less than 5°C)	spawn Oct.-Nov. eggs hatch shortly after breakup.	basically plankton. some insect, larvae some fish. bottom feeders	Predators: trout, pike, perch, walleye, etc.	egg incubation. fish predation. water fluctuation at incubation.	commercial fish bait fish (frozen ciscos used for lake trout fishing)
Northern Pike	<i>Esox lucius</i>	clear, warm, slow meandering. heavily vegetated rivers or warm weedy bays. limited only by lack of spawning habitat or over wintering conditions	heavily vegetated flood plain of rivers. marshes & bays shallow water (2-5 meters)	spawn Apr.-May. incubation 12-14 days at 17-20°C.	omnivorous carnivores. 90% fish. also frogs crayfish, mice & ducklings.	predation mainly on spawning beds. bears, eagles, osprey, eggs and young eaten by other fish	water fluctuation at egg incubation	sport fish
Muskellunge	<i>Esox masquinongy</i>	warm, heavily vegetated lakes, stumpy, weedy bays and slow heavily vegetated rivers	heavily vegetated flooded areas less than 1m deep optimum temp. 12-13°C	spawn late Apr. early May incubation 8-14 days at 12-17°C	warm water fishes.	Predators: pike, perch &	water fluctuation at egg incubation	sport fish
Goldeye	<i>Hiodon alosoides</i>	quiet, turbid water of large rivers, small lakes, ponds & marshes, muddy shallow or larger lakes. over winter in deeper parts of rivers and lakes	pools in turbid rivers or backwater lakes or ponds on rivers.	spawn May-June incubation 12-14 days.	no strong food preference. often feed at surface in summer.	Predators: walleye, pike, sauger, occasionally birds of prey.	water fluctuation at egg incubation.	commercial fish. limited sport value
White Sucker	<i>Catostomus commersoni</i>	warmer, shallow lakes or bays and tributary rivers of larger lakes.	shallow, gravelly streams above 10°C. also lakes margins, quiet areas & blocked streams.	spawn May-June incubation time 6-11 days 3% survival from egg to migrant fry.	bottom feeders. mainly invertebrate larvae.	Predators pike muskellunge basses, walleye, burbot, other piscivorous species, minck, otter, osprey, etc	high tolerance for water quality change egg incubation	some commercial limited sport. Not extremely valuable. Often wasted

	Habitat		Breeding Reproduction	Food	Predators Competitors	Sensitivity	Use by man
	Adult	Spawning					
	deep, cool lakes, occasionally large, cool, rivers, summers in hy polymion, upper limit 28°C.	shallow (1-4 ft.) sand and gravel, bays or gravel shoals (5-10 ft.) temp 5-15°C.	spawns mid winter under ice Nov.-May, incubation time 30 days, hatch Feb.-June	predatory larvae when young Exclusively fish when adult occasionally cisco eggs	Predators: perch, smelt, Competitors: lake trout, whitefish	competes directly with lake trout and whitefish water fluctuation	coarse fish limited commercial use
	adaptable variety of habitat condition & water quality (up to 30°C), shallow water habitats preferred.	shallows of lakes, tributaries, rooted vegetation, submerged brush, fallen trees, occasionally sand and gravel.	spawns Apr.-May depending upon water temp, incubation time 8-10 days, eggs semi-buoyant.	insect larvae larger invert-ebrates, fish, plankton.	Predators: almost all warm to cool water predatory fish Competitors: brook trout, cisco, whitefish, young pickerel	stunted growth in crowded populations.	limited sport and commercial fish.
	large, shallow lakes, turbid with colloidal clay. Also large turbid rivers.	shoals of gravel to rubble in large turbid lakes or turbid rivers, temp 3-6°C, depth 5-3.5 meters.	spawns May-June, incubation time 25-29 days.	feed in upper levels of lake (top 6m), plankton, larvae, insects, fish.	Predators: pike, walleye, Competitors: pike, walleye, goldeye, whitefish	wind, waves & temp fluctuation at incubation time.	sport and commercial fish
	rocky & sandy areas of lakes and rivers in shallow water, rocks, shoals, talus slopes, or submerged logs.	nests on sandy, gravel or rocky bottom of lakes & rivers, usually near protection of rocks, logs or submerged vegetation.	spawns June, incubation time 4-10 days.	insects, crayfish, fish	Predators: perch, sunfish, catfish, suckers, rock bass, Competitors: rock bass, sunfish	temp. or water level change at incubation time.	limited distribution north of CNR tracks therefore limited sport value in planning area
	wide habitat tolerance, prefer large, shallow, turbid lakes (Secc) 1-2m.)	rocky areas in white water below impassable falls and dams in rivers or boulder to coarse gravel shoals of lakes.	spawn Apr.-May, incubation time 12-18 days.	predatory diet, invert ebrates, fish, etc.	Predators: pike, muskellunge, perch, walleye, sauger, birds of prey, some mammals Competitors: perch, sauger, whitefish	overharvest, density on spawning grounds, egg incubation.	highly valued commercial and sport fish

2.2.3 Determining Quotas

As indicated in the previous section, people in the Kayahna Area contend that low quotas imposed by MNR (combined with other factors such as high transportation costs) make commercial fishing unworthwhile. MNR uses the morphoedaphic index (MEI) to determine the maximum yield or quota on each lake. There is debate among fish biologists as to the appropriateness and the reliability of using the MEI as an indicator of yield on which to base the quota for commercial and/or sport fishing. This section of the report will summarize the arguments on both sides of this debate.

The arguments in support of the MEI are contained in an article by Ryder, Kerr, Loftus and Regier, "The Morphoedaphic Index, A Fish Yield Estimator: Review and Evaluation", which appeared in 1974 in the Journal of the Fisheries Research Board of Canada. Ryder, in particular, was instrumental in developing the method.

In its simplest form, MEI is the expression of the relationship between fish productivity and abiotic factors: it is the ratio of total dissolved solids to the mean depth of the water body in question. The total dissolved solids are determined by filtering and evaporating a water sample from the lake; the residue is dried and weighed to determine the total dissolved solids. The mean depth is determined by dividing the volume of

a lake by its area.

The authors state that, despite or perhaps because of its simplicity, "The model adequately forecasts yield statistics for a variety of fisheries, of varying species composition, among a set of differing climatic regimes."¹ They feel that the MEI seems to be appropriate in indicating the degree of human activity allowable on a given lake, therefore, they imply that the MEI can be used to develop fisheries policy. They identify that the great need for the MEI is to estimate the standing stocks of marine organisms in water bodies. However, they also admit that the MEI is a conservative yield estimator, that is, that it typically underestimates the amount of fish a given body of water will yield.

The arguments against the validity of the MEI as a fish yield indicator are contained in a report for Grand Council Treaty No. 3 by Professor Thomas Alcoze, Department of Native Studies, University of Sudbury, entitled "Summary of the Biological Research Conducted on the Commercial Fishery of Shoal Lake, Ontario". Professor Alcoze was requested by the Shoal Lake Bands to research the ecological implications of the commercial fisheries operated at Shoal Lake, and, in particular, to examine the management of fish populations by the use of quota systems. In a phone conversation in February 1981, Professor Alcoze indicated that very little had resulted from his initial research and his

¹ Ryder, et al., pg. 684.

recommendations for further action and that MNR had attempted to discredit his arguments on the basis of his qualifications. He felt there was a lesson in this for other Bands.

Professor Alcoze's arguments against the validity of the MEI can be summarized in five major points:

1) the original intent of the MEI was to compare the productivity of a set of lakes in the Boreal region of Canada. Therefore, it is questionable whether this single method is adequate as an estimator of a single species of fish from one specific lake rather than as a comparative estimate of overall productivity of a number of lakes (which was its original intent).

2) the simplicity of the ratio it uses (2 factors: the total dissolved solids and the mean depth of the lake) throws its reliability into question as a measuring device. Other abiotic factors such as mean summer temperature, flushing rate, total alkalinity, etc. are not included in the MEI calculation being used by MNR but should be in order to provide a reliable estimate. MNR considers only the mean depth and the total dissolved solids, and assumes the homogeneity of environmental conditions of all lakes examined.

3) the MEI does not account for the effect of additional dissolved solids associated with human influence.

4) natural variations of phosphorus and other chemical components of aquatic ecosystems will introduce error in the calculations. Yet MNR does not take these variations into account.

5) MEI predictions should not be considered reliable unless combined with other biotic factors which also determine lake productivity. According to another biologist, Oglesby, there are two methods of determining fish yield: a) estimate of standing crop and b) annual productivity. The first is more reliable because of greater spatial and temporal coverage. MEI is not considered to be an estimate of standing crop: mud measures biomass, not standing stocks.

Based on those criticisms, Professor Alcoze recommends 1) that MEI be used with other methods, and that standing crop estimates should be used in developing quotas. For the Shoal Lake fishermen, he recommended that a mark-recapture method of measuring/weighing fish will determine the standing crop on which the quota can be set, and 2) that fishermen's input from their knowledge of their commercial catches (data on age distribution, sex ratios, size and reproductive conditions, etc.) will provide insight into the condition of the fish populations.

The implications for Kiyahna fishermen is that the basis on which quotas are set by MNR can be scientifically challenged. This will depend on what priority the communities want to place

on commercial fishing. In addition, they can and should have input into the determination of the quota through their own extensive knowledge of the fish populations in their lakes.

2.2.4 Recommendations

As far as commercial fishing is concerned, the future looks promising. Increased population pressure and pollution to the south mean that production will have to move further and further north. If demand remains the same, then prices will stabilize and perhaps rise in the future if the supply shrinks due to the depletion of southern and world fish stocks. If fishermen are organized, then there is a chance they can increase their revenues in this situation.

However, it is very clear that commercial fishermen in the Kayahna Area have much working against them. First of all, it is an operational policy of MNR that sports fishing is to take priority over commercial fishing. Southern Canadian and American tourist camp operators are looking to establish themselves in the north as pollution and logging/mineral activity destroy their operations in the south. The isolation factor works in Kayahna's favour in this instance. But increasing sports fishing will conflict with both commercial and subsistence use of the resource unless Kayahna communities are clear about what priority they will give to each useage, and where each will take place.

1. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna Council decide which priority will be assigned to each of the three useages of the fishery: subsistence, commercial and sports fishing, and

If the Kayahna Council decides that it wants to revitalize the commercial fishery, then the issues discussed in the following section may provide some information on how to do so.

Revitalizing the Commercial Fishery

The central issues in the revitalization of the commercial fishery are control and organization.

A picture of the controlling factors in the present situation in the Kayahna Area is the following:

<u>MNR</u>	<u>DIA</u>	<u>FFMC</u>	<u>AIRLINES</u>	<u>KAYAHNA FISHERMEN</u>
Sets quotas	Subsidies	Packing	Trans-	Community decides
Licensing		Process-	porta-	fishes and where
F.E.A.P.		ing	tion	Fishermen decide
Other sub-		Marketing		whether and how they
sidies		Pricing/		organize themselves
Regulations		Negotia-		
(net & hook		tions with		
size, sea-		buyers		
sons, etc.)		Payment		

2. With respect to control, we recommend that Kayahna fishermen decide which of the above factors they should have input into and control over. In addition, we recommend that the fishermen and Council develop strategies as to how they can take this control.

Time and again we have heard how the quotas imposed by MNR make fishing uneconomic for the fishermen. MNR uses the morphoedaphic index (MEI) to determine the quotas, but there are

a number of scientific reasons why this method should be questioned as a fish-yield estimator. The fishermen themselves have the best knowledge of the fish patterns in the area and should have input into determining the quotas.

3. A. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna fishermen in conjunction with a fisheries biologist conduct their own research (perhaps of the mark-recapture method) to determine the fish yield in their lakes and the extent to which the fisheries can be commercially exploited. Such information can be used to establish their own quotas.

Such a community-based research project is bound to be discredited unless undertaken with a degree-certified fisheries biologist. But an attempt to do this must also be accompanied by concerted action and support on the part of Treaty #9, because it is challenging MNR policy.

3. B. Therefore, we recommend that Kayahna fishermen work through Treaty #9 in conducting their research and pressuring for changes to MNR quotas.

As Table 22 shows, there are differences between freight costs and Freight Equalization Assistance Payments which often work against the fishermen. As F.E.A.P. is given only for the lower-paid species, it results in fishermen either bearing the total costs of the higher-priced species (despite ever-increasing transportation costs) or being forced to fish for the lower-priced

species. This calls into question the operation of the F.E.A.P. as well as other subsidies to fishermen (such as DIA).

4. Therefore, we recommend that the Kayahna fishermen and Council work through Treaty #9 in reviewing the current levels and policies of F.E.A.P. and DIA subsidies. This could also be done as part of examining the Federal Provincial Resource Development Agreement (please refer to Trapping: Recommendations

Community members in the Kayahna Area and elsewhere in North West Ontario have expressed much dissatisfaction with the operation of the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation. Some complaints are: spoilage at the docks when fish is shipped on weekends and not taken care of; high cullage on the part of FFMC employees at the packing/processing plants; extreme delays in receiving cheques. Other fisheries have pulled out of the Corporation, but only after intensive lobbying. Before it can pull out, Kayahna fishermen must consider how far it can take over the functions set out in the chart above. They must also have a thorough knowledge of their resource base and its commercial viability.

5. Therefore, we recommend that, in conjunction with research into the fish-yield potential itself, and with lobbying through Treaty #9 for changes at the provincial and federal levels, the Kayahna Council study the extent to which the commercial fishery can be made economically viable in the Kayahna Area. Specifically

the Council will need to know such things as the inventory of equipment in the communities, financing possibilities through subsidies, grants and loans, how to organize transportation in and out of the communities more efficiently so as to cut costs, how to organize the fishing process itself more efficiently, etc.

The second central issue in the revitalization of the commercial fishery is organization. Without appropriate organization, it will be impossible to take control of the commercial fishery.

By themselves at the community level, fishermen are separated and almost powerless to make changes. At the Kayahna Area level they can begin to share information, ideas and resources in order to increase their productivity and their returns. And, as the above summary has attempted to point out, such action at the local level must be accompanied by action at the Treaty #9 level and possibly at the provincial level. We can make a comparison with trapping here. Trappers have organized themselves co-operatively or through a body such as OTA to increase their share of the market and therefore their returns.

6. Therefore, we recommend that Kayahna fishermen begin to organize themselves into Fishermen's Councils to share information, resources, and strategies for the development of the commercial fishery. We further recommend that these Councils begin to work with the other PDA's within Treaty #9 to develop a fishermen's organization for common action and support.

2.3 Subsistence and Commercial Forestry

2.3.1 Climate and Soil Considerations

Coniferous trees, principally black spruce and jack pine, predominate in the boreal forest of this region. In the Big Trout Lake Area specifically, mixed stands of white and black spruce, balsam fir, trembling aspen, balsam poplar occur on warmer than normal sites. Black spruce is the common species on both the well-drained and poorly-drained sites. Closed forests can develop whenever soil depth is sufficient. Black spruce predominates with jack pine in the uplands and tamarack in the poorly-drained lowlands. The Hudson's Bay Lowlands to the north is covered by swamp, bog and muskeg. There is hardly an area that has not been touched by fire. Extensive portions of the Planning area are characterized by poor drainage and stagnant water, leading to swamps, bogs, and fens. Natural disruptive elements such as wildfire, blowdown and insects and diseases occur so often that few areas can progress to the point where they support a final stage of stable, self-perpetuating growth. In fact, it takes 100 years to progress from a recent burn through a pioneer community to a well-developed secondary community.

A central question, then, is whether or not the forestry should be regarded as a renewable resource north of 50, because of the lengthy time necessary for its regeneration in the severe climatic and soil conditions.

2.3.2 Current Extent

The areas in the Kayahna Area having greatest forestry potential appear to be Wunnumun Lake, Long Dog Lake and Kassa-bonika, although every community has its own sawmill or at least access to one, most of which seem to be in operating order.

The logging/sawmill operation at Wunnumun Lake employs 12 men with an operating budget of \$33,084.80. It supplies 4-5,000 sawn logs a year for local use. Housing starts through the Band Housing Program averaged five per year for the last several years, with a preference for frame-type of construction.

The Long Dog logging/sawmill operation supplies sawlogs and lumber for Big Trout Lake and employs six men. Pulpwood-sized timber used for building logs is in good supply in the area. Fuelwood is cut to supplement the oil to heat the school. The shoreline needs to be cruised to assess the potential in the area. 1978 housing starts were 11 frame-style buildings; 1977 housing starts were 4 log-buildings. There is a solar kiln for drying logs currently under construction.

The logging/sawmill operation at Kassabonika is administered by the Band Council and the six men workers are hired through Job Creation Branch. The community considers having the operation run independently as an economic development priority. Housing starts in the last two years have been 7-8 houses per year. Logging is carried out during both summer and winter and supplies

are brought in from Wunnumun Lake and Pickle Lake by tractor train and aircraft.

The sawmill at Angling Lake is 4 miles from the village and logs from the shoreline are used to supply it. It will be necessary to go further in a few years to maintain the wood supply.

The Kingfisher Lake logging/sawmill operation employs eight men and has a 4-year supply of sawlog material within 3/4 miles of the community. Four houses were built in 1978. Transportation of sawlogs and fuelwood is a problem here as with the other communities.

As Table 25 shows, the Kayahna communities (without Long Dog, for which no figures were available) used 188,000 gallons of #2 heating oil at a cost of \$259,990 in 1977. If the communities wanted to replace their reliance on imported heating oil with reliance on local timber, they would have had to cut approximately 2,113 cords of spruce for their heating use in 1977. This would have prevented the value of the imported heating oil (approximately \$259,990) from being spent outside the Kayahna Area and would have had the added advantage of generating needed employment within the communities.

Using Blair's figures for the 18 reserve communities in the Sioux Lookout District, we can estimate that the Kayahna Area communities consumed approximately 28% of the totals for all

the communities. Table 26 , Estimated Amount of Cordage Needed to Supply Kayahna Area Needs, is adapted from his district-wide figures on this basis. The conclusion to be drawn from these tables is that there would be substantial savings to all the communities if wood were supplied locally for construction needs (mainly housing but also for the furniture shop) for household fuel wood, and to replace current reliance on imported heating oil. Blair estimates, for example, that the 18 communities would save in total \$1,541,756 on imported lumber and heating oil in 1979 if they were to rely on local timber for their construction and energy needs. We could, therefore, estimate that for 1977 the Kayahna communities could have saved \$431,692 on imported lumber and oil if they had been self-sufficient in timber resources in these areas.

TABLE #25

1977 HEATING OIL CONSUMPTION AND GROSS LANDED VALUE*

Community	Gallons of #2 Heating Oil	Gross Landed Value \$	Equivalent Cords of Fuel Wood (1 cord spruce = 89 gallons)
Angling Lake	19,000	27,550	213
Big Trout Lake	45,000	51,300	506
Fort Severn	50,000	78,500	562
Kassabonika	30,000	46,800	337
Kingfisher Lake	20,000	25,600	225
Wunnumun Lake	<u>24,000</u>	<u>30,240</u>	<u>270</u>
TOTALS	188,000	259,990	2,113

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Sioux Lookout District Office records

*John H. Blair, Overview of the Potential of Merchantable Softwood Timber Resources,
Table 2, p. 145.

TABLE #26

ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF CORDAGE NEEDED TO SUPPLY
KAYAHNA AREA NEEDS FOR: *

Year	Construction ¹ Lumber ²	Heating Oil Replacement ² &	Household Fuel Wood ⁴	Total	Total Commercial Wood ⁴
1977	474	3,113	4,200	6,787	2,587
1978	493	2,198	4,368	7,059	2,691
1979	513	2,285	4,543	7,341	2,798
1980	534	2,376	4,725	7,635	2,910
1981	555	2,471	4,914	7,940	3,026
1982	577	2,570	5,111	8,258	3,147
1983	600	2,672	5,315	8,587	3,272
1984	624	2,779	5,528	8,931	3,403
1985	649	2,890	5,749	9,288	3,539
1986	675	3,006	5,979	9,660	3,681
1987	702	3,126	6,218	10,046	3,828

*Adapted from John H. Blair, Op. cit., Table 3, pg. 146

¹Assumes projected growth rate at 5% per year

²Assumes equal heating efficiency

³Blair's personal estimate

⁴Total of columns 2 & 3 (replacement for imported construction lumber and heating oil)

2.3.3 Recommendations

Due to the problems of forest regeneration as well as transportation and labour costs, large scale industrial development of the forestry resource is very unlikely in the Kayahna region. As the following Ministry of Natural Resources maps show, the generalized forest capability of the Kayahna Area is low and the major areas committed to timber production are well to the south of the region.

However, local needs are already being met by providing wood in two important areas:

1) as an energy source, through providing firewood; the species left behind by loggers now appear favourable for energy production;

2) in building construction.

In both cases, local forestry development generates local employment and also reduces high import costs.

In addition, one spin-off production enterprise has developed from these initiatives. The furniture factory in Big Trout Lake is producing goods for local sale. At the moment, the jack pine and other materials needed in production is imported from Thunder Bay. A 1972 Evaluation of the Wunnumun Lake Forestry Operations indicates that there is good quality jack pine in the area, around the reserve, although it had not

been used up to that time. The solar kiln at Long Dog is an attempt to provide the factory with local wood, although it will be some time before production needs are worked out.

Clearly, the Kayahna Area communities have already made positive steps toward the development of their forestry potential with the aim of increasing their internal self-sufficiency. A number of further steps can be taken in this direction. In particular,

1. We recommend that the communities investigate converting their heating source from imported heating oil to local timber. The interest of local people and costs of doing so need to be explored, as well as an estimation of the amount needed and the capability for expansion to supply this need on the part of local logging and sawmilling operations.

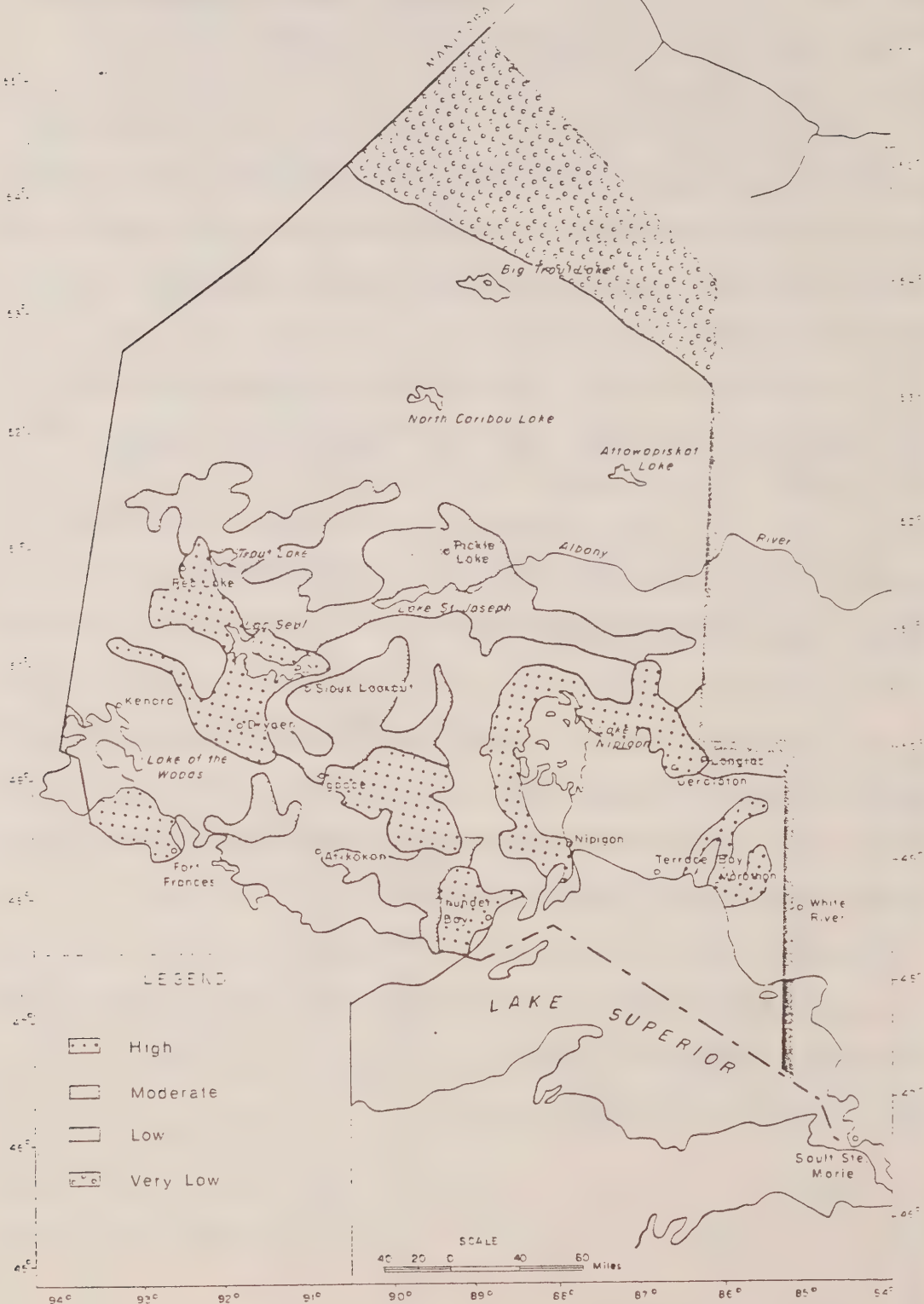
2. We recommend that local people identify what other productive enterprises are desirable for using timber, and that feasibility studies be undertaken to determine the capability of local timber reserves to respond to these needs.

Further recommendations will be made with respect to forestry and agricultural together, at the end of 2.4 Subsistence and Commercial Agriculture.

MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES
NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO
PLANNING REGION

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GENERALIZED FOREST CAPABILITY





LEGEND

— — — AREA SOUTH OF THIS
BOUNDARY IS COMMITTED
TO TIMBER PRODUCTION



EXCLUDED FROM CUTTING
AREA AND ALLOWABLE CUT
CALCULATIONS

2.4 Subsistence and Commercial Agriculture

2.4.1 Climate and Soil Considerations

The potential for agricultural development is, at best, limited in the Kayahna Area. The West Patricia Area has one of the least favoured growing seasons in Ontario; approximately 130-170 days per year, which is modified locally by differences in land forms, presence of large waterbodies and local variations in soil materials. The growing season is generally considered to begin and end at the average date of occurrence of 5.5 °C and when the daily range in temperature is generally from freezing point to 12 °C. Thus, the 130-170 days per year growing season generally begins May 1st/May 25th and ends September 30th/October 15th.

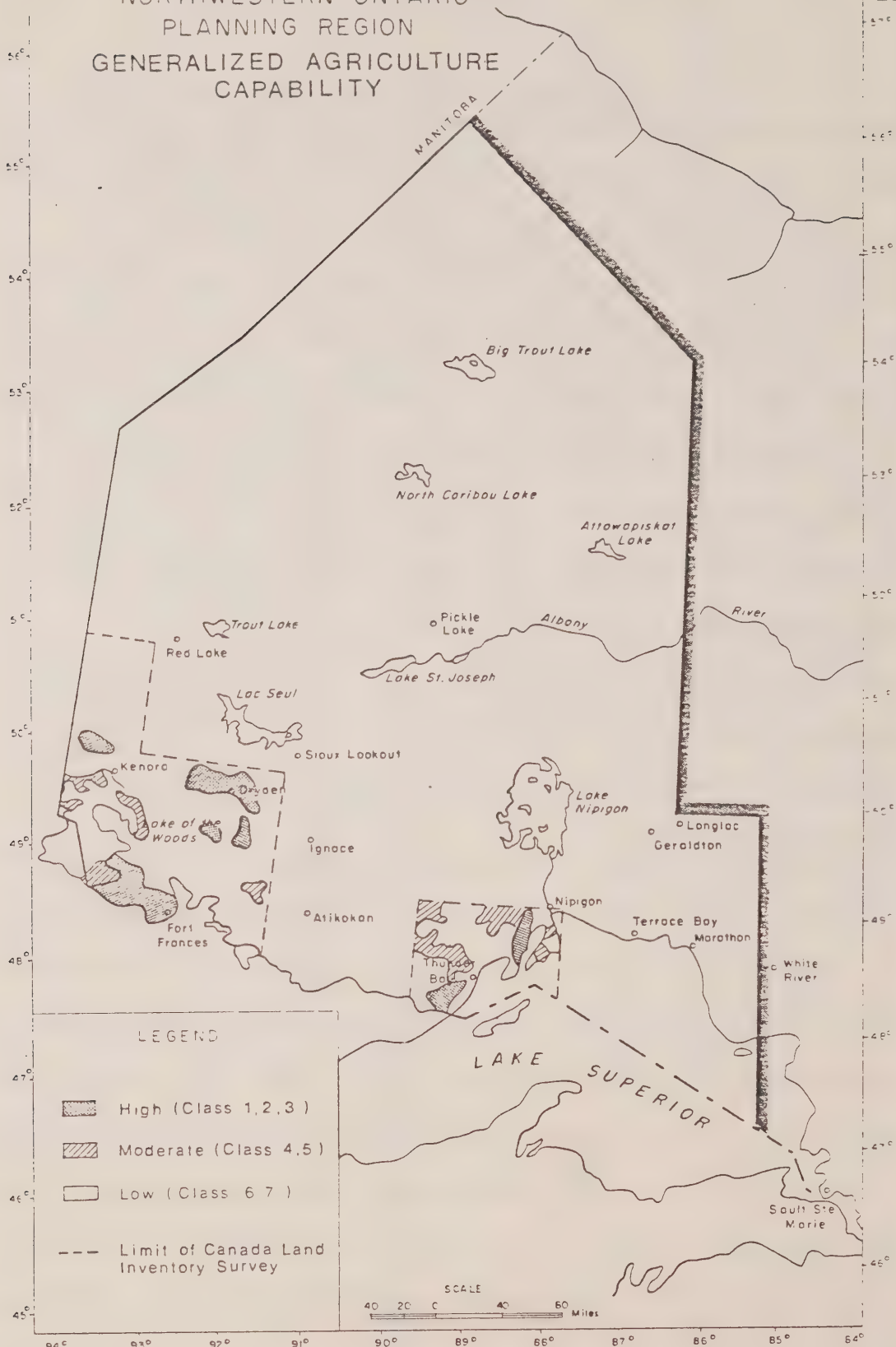
The mean annual minimum temperature is one way to determine where plants of varying winter hardiness can be safely grown. The West Patricia study area as a whole has a mean annual minimum temperature of less than -4.5 °C, which greatly limits its possibilities. Frost presents an ever-present risk even though the normal frost-free period ranges from 108 days in the southern part of the West Patricia Area to 75 days or less in the north.

Good agricultural land is relatively scarce in the West Patricia Planning Area. In addition to climate, capability is limited by drainage problems, shallow soils and low fertility.

The Canada Land Inventory Program system has been used to classify lands in the area by the MNR, but only a small portion of north-west Ontario (in the southwest corner of the West Patricia Planning Area) has been surveyed to date. The map on page 129 shows the generally low agricultural capability of land in the Kayahna Area. According to this classification system, Classes 1-4 are high capability agricultural lands, with Classes 5-7 of decreasing capability. Additional MNR criteria for agricultural lands establish that they must be a minimum of one acre and produce agricultural sales of at least \$1,200. According to this criteria then, some land may be technically capable of agricultural production but because of its small size and isolated location not qualify as agricultural land under MNR criteria.

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PLANNING REGION
GENERALIZED AGRICULTURE
CAPABILITY

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2.4.2 Historical Overview

Historically, agricultural production in the Kayahna Area dates from the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company post in the Big Trout Lake region in the early 1800's. The earliest Bay post, built in 1807 on the east side of Big Trout Lake, survived largely because of its dependence on local Indians for food and guiding. Gradually, the post's managers and men developed some small vegetable gardens to supplement their own diets and grew hay for the horses and cattle they brought into the area (from personal communication with Ann Balmer, historical researcher, Ministry of Culture and Recreation). Presumably, some agricultural efforts continued for local consumption on an experimental and small-scale basis by both Native and non-Native people in the following years.

The next mention of specific efforts in this area refers to the fact that potatoes were grown in the area as early as 1924; individual and community plots existed until at least 1961, according to the 1964 Big Trout Lake Pilot Study.

2.4.3 Current Extent

The agricultural background paper for the West Patricia Land Use Plan notes that Big Trout Lake has produced good potato crops in past years. One year, the crop amounted to over 500 kilograms (1,100 lbs.) and was sold to community residents.

In the past few years, efforts have been made in several of the Kayahna communities to revive agricultural production for local use. In Big Trout Lake, for example, land was cleared by tractor on Post Island in 1979 with LEAP funding. A community garden in Kingfisher Lake produced potatoes this year, its first in operation; next year the crop to be put in will be turnips. In Kassabonika, an attempt was made to start gardening with CEIC money but was generally unsuccessful. Traditional gardening has throughout the years been initiated and encouraged in the area by the Mennonite Church.

It is important to note that agricultural production is identified as an economic development priority in two communities, according to their Socio-Economic Inventories. In Long Dog Lake gardening and poultry raising are identified. In Kassabonika, farming is among potential businesses identified as a second priority, after sawmilling/logging. There have been successful attempts in other northern communities in animal husbandry: chickens have been raised at Sioux Lookout for their meat and eggs, and goats have provided milk and meat in Red Lake and Pickle Lake. These provide positive examples for people in the Kayahna Area.

2.4.4 Recommendations

There is potential for agricultural development in the Kayahna Area, despite its low level of classification according to MNR and the Canada Land Inventory criteria, which are applied to land intended to produce agricultural commodities for the market economy. In the Kayahna communities, however, the primary aim of agricultural production is rather import substitution--to produce locally in order to decrease the high transportation costs of produce flown in from the south--and, secondarily, for job-creation and profit-making. If this is, indeed, the case (and this needs to be clarified), then the strategy for agricultural production should be developed accordingly. The strategy chosen must also be appropriate to the local social structure. In the case of Kassabonika, for example, a possible cause of failure might have been that paying people to produce food caused them to lose interest in food production and to view the endeavor mainly as a job-creation project. Traditionally, it was the chief who made the major decisions, so that payment of workers would upset the forms of social organization and traditional motivation. The implementation of the agricultural development plan, then, must accurately reflect its aims and be in harmony with the local social organization.

Given, therefore, that there is some agricultural capability and that there has been a successful agricultural experience in the Kayahna Area, that there is an interest in some of the communities in developing their agricultural resources and that development and exchange of locally-produced agricultural products will help to stem an outflow of money from the communities for southern agricultural goods and keep more money circulating in the communities,

1. We recommend that the Kayahna Council continue their attempts to hire an agricultural specialist to work with the Council and people in the region on

- . the development of Kayahna land for agricultural purposes; and
- . the development of income-generating and employment opportunities in the agricultural sector.

The agricultural country food production (fish and wild meat) and forestry sectors of the Kayahna economy have in common that increased production in their sectors can help build the self-sufficiency of the Kayahna region by decreasing their dependence on southern sources for subsistence goods. Kayahna people will benefit because more money will be generated and kept circulating in the communities. Therefore,

2. We recommend that a detailed import substitution study be carried out in the Kayahna communities for the agricultural,

country food production (fish and wild meat), and forestry sectors. In particular, we recommend that this study make recommendations for:

- . the development of a transportation/distribution network that will examine how local resources can be exchanged and sold among the communities, as well as between the communities and the south; and
- . the development of Kayahna control over its resources, so that Kayahna people, not southern enterprises, benefit from increased local production.

3. An Integrated Development Plan

The sector-by-sector approach in the foregoing pages should not turn the Kayahna Council aside from the vital necessity of an integrated development plan, avoiding possible land-use conflicts.

The most important balance that must be struck is between the traditional and the modern sectors of the economy. Treaty # in its submission to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment noted the Native preference for the traditional economy. Peter Usher notes that the central issue is not an either/or choice either the traditional or the modern, but the integration of the two into the dual economy; he adds that it is also a question of what forms of ownership and control are part of the dual economy. If the people of the Kayahna Area wish to continue their traditional economy, it is imperative that they control the exploitation of the non-renewable resource sector on their lands; otherwise, they run the risk of having the non-renewable resource sector ruin the capability of the land to support the traditional economy, on the one hand, and of gradually eroding their traditional bush skills as they themselves become involved in the non-renewable resource sector on the other hand. The dual economy can be a solution to modernization as long as the modern sector serves the traditional under Kayahna control.

An additional dilemma is posed by the need to modernize the traditional economy. What forms will such modernization take? Will technological improvements, coupled with increased population, result in increased pressure on the resource base, leading to its inevitable destruction?

A second balance to be struck is between the productive and service sectors of the Kayahna economy: the Kayahna communities must decide which projects they will undertake in each. In the productive sector, new wealth is created in the form of local production; for example, furs, handicrafts, furniture, baked goods. In the case of such production being sold outside the communities, new dollars are brought back into the Kayahna Area; in the case of such production being sold within the communities, local production acts as "import substitution", that is, it prevents money from leaking out of the Kayahna community by providing goods that ordinarily need to be imported from the outside (for example, furniture, vegetables, wood for fuel instead of oil, etc.).

Within the service sector, services are provided but goods are not produced. Already existing money keeps circulating in the communities by being spent on services ordinarily not provided at all, or provided outside the communities, or provided for the benefit/profit of people in businesses outside the community. An example of the first is a laundromat; of the second, is a

restaurant/coffee shop; and of the third, is an airline and a mo
New jobs may occur, but they are created through some combination
of subsidy and revenues from services provided to people who will
pay for them.

The dilemma for the Kayahna communities is that there are
generally not enough resource funding and trained people to
undertake all or even many of the kinds of development projects
mentioned above in the productive and service sectors. Therefore
it is necessary that you make decisions as to what kinds of
development projects will have priority. The Kayahna communities
must make these decisions considering what projects are most
compatible with the interests and skills of your people, and
also what will further the long-term control of your land and
resources. When it comes to a decision between spending time and
resources on getting an airline established or getting more people
out to the traplines, which will you choose?

The concept of multiple land-use also applies to the various
sectors within the renewable resource economy. Among a number of
possible conflicts that should be discussed as the Band makes its
decisions regarding economic development priorities are:

- 1) conflict between tourism and logging;
- 2) conflict between sport and commercial fishing;
- 3) conflict between domestic (subsistence) and commercial
fishing;

4) conflict between logging and trapping.

With respect to conflict between logging and trapping in particular, it is clear that government legislation and management programs regard logging as the priority because of its greater importance to the revenues of the province. In the Kayahna Area, a conflict between the two will most likely not take place in a major way because there will not be large-scale logging here as there is to the south. However, the Kayahna Area land-use plan must still consider the nature of the impact of small-scale, local-use cutting on furbearers. It should be possible to consider the collective economic benefits of both activities, but giving clear priority to trapping with other land uses fitting in. The fact that there are multiple land uses should not blind the communities to the fact that priorities must be made because of potential conflicts between competing uses.

Part of the problem is that very little research has been done on the impact of forestry on furbearers. What is clear is that both logging and forest fires decrease fur production significantly in the early years after the disturbance. A general conclusion is that logging will change the age distribution of the forest relative to that with fire control only. The application of logging at the maximum rate compatible with sustained yield will result in a trapping harvest value about 10% lower than the natural situation. Of course, this applies generally although

the effect on any one trapline might be drastic.

In addition to the traditional and modern/industrial sector of the economy, there is a third sector, which is the state-subsidized sector. The essential question here is, can the Kayahna Area communities ever be self-sustaining? Can the renewable, non-renewable and self-sufficient production sectors (assuming they are controlled locally) provide for most of the needs of the people in the Area? The State sector consists of transfer payments (welfare, pensions, unemployment insurance, etc.), the provision of services for Treaty Indians, job creation programs; but it can also include government subsidies for the productive sector, such as commercial trapping, fishing, logging, etc. For each of the productive sectors, the Kayahna Council should consider how far each can be pushed toward self-sufficiency, and what role subsidies should play in this.

Wawatay News January 1981 7

OTA Doubles Fur Prices in Pikangikum

By Lois Mombourquette

Pikangikum trappers netted \$68,000 from fur sales over a four week period from mid-October to mid-November, Chief J.J. Saggashie recently reported. Community sources vary in their estimates, but most claim their fur income at least doubled owing to a switch in major selling from local buyers to the Ontario Trappers' Association (OTA) out of North Bay.

OTA in conjunction with Sioux Lookout Department of Indian Affairs made a pilot project visit to Pikangikum on November 20, 1980 to explain their system to trappers and to do a one-time-only pick-up of furs for the December fur auction in North Bay. The trip may alter significantly the course of future fur sales in Pikangikum.

Pikangikum received the opportunity to have the OTA visit because it was the only northern reserve to specify trapping as a priority concern in their long range economic planning to Indian Affairs. Trapping is a priority for Pikangikum because a majority of the community has no other gainful employment. Indian Affairs' Economic Development Advisor Kai Koivukoski remarked that in respect to fur sales "the evidence was that Pikangikum and Poplar Hill were two areas where people did not understand their options." Pikangikum has an airstrip and is a fairly central community. They submitted a proposal to Department of Indian Affairs to bring OTA into the village, and according to Koivukoski this was approved "on the condition that it would be a one shot deal." The

meeting was well attended by Pikangikum trappers, many of whom came in from the bush by ski-doo specifically to hear OTA.

About one third of the community's 150 full-time trappers directly benefited from the OTA sales, taking in an average of \$720 each. Twenty people earned over \$1,000 each and the top individual sale was approximately \$2,000. Another 50 trappers, still cautious and somewhat suspicious of the increased rates from OTA, continued to sell their furs to two local buyers, who in turn sold these to OTA for a total of \$39,000, Chief Saggashie stated.

The community is very interested in OTA said the chief. "People were really surprised, they didn't expect that much money. They are really happy about it."

OTA operates on a slightly different system than northern people are used to Ken Tomlie, OTA's Regional Co-ordinator who travelled to Pikangikum explained.

OTA uses a two-part payment system. Trappers are issued an advance of approximately 50% of the average going rate for animal pelts at the time the furs are received. The furs are all sold by OTA at auction sales attended by international fur buyers held four or five times a year in North Bay. This year there are five sales: December, January, March, April and June. "We're concerned with getting our furs to the best market place" said Tomlie. "OTA is not a buyer, it just gives the trapper the opportunity of getting the highest dollar for his pelts." Within ten days after the sales, cheques for the remainder of the price the furs netted are sent out to the trappers by mail.

OTA is able to pay the trapper more than he is accustomed to receiving said Chief Saggashie "because they are giving us the full price for our furs. Fur buyers have to make a business out of it for themselves."

Tomlie had a good example of this: "One chap told me he sold seven mink for \$40.00. I would have given him \$105.00 advance, and he would have got another \$105.00 at least."

The question remains then of why most community trappers still sell their furs to local buyers at prices less than what OTA pays. The reasons are numerous stated Peter Quill, Trapping and Fishing Co-ordinator for the Pikangikum Reserve. "There is little employment going on in the community right now", he said, "so a lot of people need money right away from their fur, or at least need immediate credit." The three local fur buyers also operate stores which offer credit. Selling furs to the store is not a condition of credit, but it makes it easier for the trapper than sending his furs to North Bay and waiting for his return cheque.

OTA's Tomlie commented on this "Let me me put it this way, some people need cash immediately of course. The highest price they can get at the time, they accept. Its like someone on the street who needs a meal; if they have a watch, they can sell it for \$.50.00 when it may be worth \$50.00.

Peter Quill also stated that some trappers are suspicious of OTA and "fear trapping might go the same route as Fresh-water Fish Marketing and the fishing industry. They express concern that trappers might eventually have no choice over who they sell their furs to, a situation they perceive to be existing in the fishing area.

Transporting furs remains a difficulty

One yet-to-be-solved problem surrounds the transportation of furs from the north to the southern pick-up locations in time for the North Bay auctions. George Suggashie, PDA worker for the Pehtabun area, claims there has already been some disorganization involved in this. Due to a series of problems, the Pikangikum Band never got organized enough to send a representative to Red Lake with the trappers' furs for the OTA December 22 pick-up. Consequently only four trappers, two of them local buyers, managed at the last minute to make it out. Suggashie stated that "everyone was bringing their furs to the Band Office." When it turned out that a Band representative was not being sent, he said some people "felt left out, discouraged, some felt they should have gone themselves." Many of these planned to send their furs to North Bay by other means.

Chief Suggashie stated that because the OTA cheques from the December auction only arrived in Pikangikum the day before the next shipment was required in Red Lake, the Band had too little time to organize a delivery. He also claimed that owing to the proximity of Christmas, many residents said they'd rather go to Red Lake on their own.

There seems to be some confusion about how, in fact, furs will be transported to OTA in future. Band Office members expressed that OTA would be going into the north again to pick up furs from the Pehtabun area, but OTA and Indian Affairs both claim this is not possible.

OTA's Tolmie stated, "if they (Pikangikum trappers) could find a system of getting their furs from the reserve to the pick-up location" the problem would be alleviated. He remarked, "I don't need the individual person there, only a representative of the trappers". With five fur sales, plus the many pick-ups in Northwestern Ontario, OTA claims they cannot handle northern pick-ups totaling 18 communities as well.

An Indian Affairs representative stated what was needed was an "organizational element at the community level." This indeed may yet occur as Pikangikum intends to write a report reviewing their fur sales situation and their involvement so far with OTA.

APPENDIX 2

Gas subsidies for hunters and trappers

Staff writer Nancy Heron

gasoline subsidy to help offset rising gasoline prices is now available to hunters and trappers in the Northwest Territories who made \$600 or more in sales last year, Minister of Renewable Resources Richard Nerys said.

The gasoline price hike which was just announced could affect the people who earn a significant portion

of their income off the land," Nerys said.

The subsidy would be paid automatically to hunters and trappers now receiving the Trappers' Incentive Grant. This year trappers earning from \$600 to \$3000 now get 10 per cent of their earned fur income in the

incentive program. The gas subsidy will pay them an additional five per cent.

The two grants will be paid on one cheque. The minimum amount received will be \$90 (15 per cent of \$600) and the maximum amount will be \$450 (15 per cent of \$3,000).

The fur production of trappers is recorded annually by the Wildlife Service, based on fur traders records, returns from fur auction houses, and receipts from private sales. Trappers who feel that they have made enough money through private sales, but have not received the grant, should take their receipts to their Wildlife Service office.

Cheques to trappers will be sent out from the four regional offices, Fort Smith, Inuvik, Rankin Inlet and Frobisher Bay, by the end of October.

The Territorial Government will spend a total of \$150,000 on the gasoline subsidy program. It will be administered by the Wildlife Service division of the Department of Renewable Resources.

Last year more than 1,700 trappers and hunters received the Trapper's Incentive grant.

From: Native Press, October 20, 1980.

Appendix III

Presentation to the Royal Commission on
the Northern Environment

June 14, 1983

in Kingfisher Lake, Ontario

MR. COMMISSIONER, I'm happy to have you come to my community. I, Chief Simon Sakakeep, would like to speak for my people;

The people of Nishnawbe-Aski don't want to lose their ways of life. For over hundred years, Indian people had never seen white man. The people of Nishnawbe-Aski don't want any interference with their hunting rights from a white man.

If there's a mine started in Northern Ontario we are the ones who would suffer in our hunting/trapping area.

Same thing applies with Polar Gas Pipeline. This development would interfere with our ways of life. All the land resources, including wildlife would be destroyed.

Another thing is a proposed Reed Paper Mill development. There will be no wildlife if Reed Paper clears the area. It will drastically have an effect on a native ways of lifestyle and

culture.

All the concerns of the people should be put in the Royal Commissioner's report.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

Introduction

The community of Kingfisher Lake is located in Northwestern Ontario at latitude 53N00, longitude 89W49, 176 kilometres north of Pickle Lake and 90 kilometres south of Big Trout Lake. The people moved to this location in 1965 from Big Beaver House because Kingfisher Lake was deeper and cleaner, and timber is more readily available in the surrounding area.

The community is located on an Indian Reserve and has had Official Band Status since April 1976. The community population is 260. Of this figure 254 persons are Band Members and 6 are non-Band members.

The provincial Member of Parliament is Jack Stokes. The federal Member of Parliament is John Reid.

Transportation

The community is accessible through the airstrip in Big Trout Lake and the airstrip in Pickle Lake. Small planes can be chartered which can land on either water or ice. There are no roads or scheduled aircraft service for the community. A

helicopter service usually maintains postal deliveries during the break-up and freeze-up periods. Austin Airways provides bi-weekly mail and freight service.

Communications

- one Post Office

- a Bell Canada microwave system

- H.F. radio provided by Wa-Wa-Ta

- C.B. radios owned by individuals

- a radio station owned and operated by the community members.

- satellite television service operated by the Kingfisher Lake Band

The main language spoken is Cree, the second language is English. Fluent interpreters are available in the community.

Medical Services

There are two Community Health Representatives which are the most readily available medical advice here. They are trained in basic First Aid and are qualified to give prescription drugs. Registered nurses from the Round Lake Nursing Station visit the community approximately every 2 or 3 months. Air ambulance service is available.

Religion

There is one Anglican Church, presided over by a local minister.

Education

There is one D.I.A.N.D. Elementary Day School. The school has four classrooms and five teachers, two of whom are local permanent residents. The enrollment at the school at present is 76.

Recreation

The Kingfisher Lake Band organizes recreational activities and carnivals. Other popular recreational activities are skating, swimming, softball, ski-dooing, boating, canoeing, camping, soccer and reading. There are camping areas, ski-doo trails, a softball diamond, a library, a swimming area for children and a skating rink for hockey teams.

Policing

The Ontario Provincial Police have a Northern Air Patrol which will come to the community at the community's request.

Fire Protection

There is a local fire committee that looks after fire prevention and safety, and organizes volunteer firefighting.

Firefighting equipment consists of eight water pumps and

10,000 feet of fire hose. A firehall will be built this summer. It will be used to store firefighting equipment, ready for use. In addition each building is equipped with an ABC fire extinguisher.

Store

There are two stores in the community. The major one is the Omahamo Store, run by the Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation, established in 1980, and which was the most important step taken towards increasing our independence and control over our own affairs. It has been self-supporting, while creating employment and providing social and morale benefits for the community as a whole.

REED PAPER - A Proposal to Cut 19,000 Square Miles of Timber

I would like to express my thoughts about how such a development will affect the native people, for those of us living in the northern area. We have lived here for a long time. It is not known how long the natives have been here, yet even today we still live on this land. To this day there is still a good abundance of different resources. The wildlife and fish are plentiful, and as yet unpolluted. These different resources were meant for our well-being. We are still very grateful and still remember that this is what our Great Manitou provided for us and for our children in the future. We do not want our land to be destroyed yet, for in its present state it supplies us with our

livelihood, just as it always has in the past. Therefore, if thousands of square miles of trees are cut down, we will lose everything. Not only the trees, but the wildlife and fish will also be greatly affected. Their diet will be disrupted and their survival threatened. Therefore, where the planning hasn't been done, we do not want the trees to be cut down. We want our land to remain as our Manitou created it. We know that His creations and His promises never fail.

Once this Reed Project starts there will be many white people who will come to live here on this land. There is no doubt that both road and highway construction would also occur. Our lakes and rivers would be polluted. There are several native communities that are located in the proposed cutting area. And this threatens the traditional means of our livelihood and offers no benefits to our communities.

Mining-The Consideration and/or Planning of Mining Exploration

If there is any mining exploration being planned for this area, we recommend that the community of Kingfisher Lake be consulted. We expect to get involved in any such planning. The result of this would be that together we could find solutions for water pollution, in order to avoid any contamination. We positively don't want any wastes dumped into lakes or rivers. Such pollution would soon reach the people of Kingfisher Lake, for it would have an easy access to the lake. If there's a mine development nearby, it will bring a lot of problems for the people up here. Also, the construction of a hydro generating

facility in order to power the mine would likely involve damming the river; this is something we do not want to occur. Instead we suggest that other ways be found of running such a mine, other sources of hydro. But again, I stress that our cultural lifestyle will be changed if there's a mine development nearby, even though native people may benefit from employment there. We know that the mine will not operate forever, and after it closes there would no longer be any employment there. That is why we are concerned, for eventually the mine would close anyways, and in the meantime nature would have been destroyed for nothing better than a temporary profit-making venture. Therefore, we recommend that a careful study be made of the environmental impacts a mine would have.

There would be social impacts for the community, side-effects of such a venture, that also need to be considered. The construction of an all-weather road would create problems simply because then we'd be less isolated. The isolation is what preserves our native livelihood. There would be other associated problems, and also the negative impact of alcohol in a mining town.

Polar Gas

I want to speak of a major industrial development proposed to occur near our area. This is the Polar Gas Pipeline, which would go through our land. The issue here is the possible risk involved. And the risk primarily involves us, the native people, and our traditional way of life and livelihood. The risks are

evident. First, there is the possibility of gas seepage along the pipeline and especially at the compression stations. Where there is seepage, no matter how little, the threat of fire become great. Seepage would pollute our drinking water, leading to adverse affects on fish and wildlife. There would also be the construction of a road, and perhaps development, nearby the pipeline, raising again the possibilities of pollution and other negative influences. In all likelihood, if a fire ever occurred the means of our livelihood would be destroyed for generations. Is it fair to expect us to risk so much?

The Damming and Diversion of Rivers

The development of hydro generating capacity by the damming and diversion of rivers is another area of concern for us. It would affect the native people in ways difficult to predict. Several things are evident however. With the uprooting of trees and vegetation in a newly diverted river, and especially with the presence of bark resin in the water, all of this would have an adverse affect on the fish and wildlife that are sustained by the rivers. The rivers feed into lakes, spreading the pollution. Fish and wildlife would move away to unpolluted areas elsewhere. We should be careful of how we use our land because our future generations might be left with nothing, the land empty or polluted, and with that our unique way of life would, itself, be uprooted. Whatever threatens the fishing, hunting and trapping activity of our people threatens the native people themselves. Fishing, hunting and trapping are more than just sources of food.

for us. We feel that we should continually use meat from wildlife as the bulk of our diet, for the native people have a blood of hunting and trapping for survival. It's very hard to communicate this in words.

West Patricia Land Use Plan

This brings me to the proposed West Patricia Land Use Plan. The specific area concerned is zone 50, the Pipestone River-Waterway Park. The Ministry of Natural Resources, in fact no one, bothered to inform us or consult with us on this planning activity. We feel the people of Kingfisher Lake should have been consulted. We cannot just say "yes" when the government eventually gets around to negotiating with us. This poses an attempt to block our use of our land, our hunting and trapping grounds. Our second reserve is also adjacent to the proposed area. Yet the government promised us this land. We picked this piece of land and the river for our next generation and generations beyond. We cherished it most because this is where we hunt, trap and fish for our needs. We use this area extensively all year round. We, the native people tend not to destroy our lands resources. Our only desire is to seek assurance that it will not be allowed to be destroyed by others. We are asking the Government of Ontario to terminate this planning activity where it affects our land and livelihood.

Background-Economic Development

The idea of getting involved in economic development or small business initiated with the community's desire to own and control self-supporting businesses or services which would create more self-reliance and employment for the community members. The first step towards this objective was taken when the Chief and Band Council make the circulation of in-coming monies within the community their economic development priority number one. A critical examination of the Band situation was made with regard to the economic conditions and flow of incoming monies and the end results. The study which was done by local people revealed that the Hudson's Bay Company was taking out 82% of the funds that came into the community. Therefore, all the government transfer payments, the trappers' sale of furs and other such activity resulted only in feeding the mouths of the recipients. The net profits from the Bay store operation were being funnelled out of the community and not used for the benefit of the local people. So it was decided that the community buy the Bay operation. Although the Bay was reluctant to divest itself of this profitable operation, the final result was that the Bay was out in a position where they had to sell. Ever since Kingfisher Lake has enjoyed the benefits of owning such an operation. The benefits now are as follows:

- (1) The expertise and experience derived from running such an operation.

- (2) The morale benefits to the community as a whole.

- (3) An increase in cohesiveness as a social unit resulting from having such a common objective.

(4) The control of the net profits.

One of the examples of positive benefits resulting from the venture is that the community was able to construct the first laundromat in this area. \$57,000 of the store profits was used and the balance from LEAP. This has greatly improved the community's situation as a whole in terms of hygiene. It has reduced the women's daily workload and stress.

The community has sought to gain as high a degree of control as possible over its own affairs and has pursued an independent course of development aimed at maximizing self-reliance and the local distribution of benefits from economic activity. It has proceeded cautiously to develop projects that can bring longterm improvements in both material conditions and morale. Step by step planning has been carried out through co-operation between the people and the Band Council to ensure that priorities are shared and that community members are able to participate in the development process. The community organization is similar to a family in which the community's needs are considered and all aspects of peoples' lives are taken into account; not just economic aspects but social and cultural as well. In other words, the Band has taken a comprehensive and extremely careful approach to its development as a human community. This process should not be idealized. It has involved a concrete application of principles arrived at through careful examination of the Band's situation.

In April 1976, the community received reserve status. As the Band administered more government funds, it took only a short period of time before they definitely realized that they could

not depend on the Dept. of Indian Affairs and other government agencies because of the way programs were structured. They wanted to plan their future themselves with as little outside involvement as possible. They learned about self-organizing and other kinds of skills that would be required to build up their community. They learned to adapt their approach to economic development to their own circumstances and aspirations.

To initiate projects such as the store, Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation, a non-profit organization, was started in April 1980 with objectives very broad in scope. The Board of Directors of this new corporation consisted of nine Band members which have a good cross-section of abilities and experience. The objectives of the Letters Patent parallels the Band Council's and community's aspirations. Although the Band Council and the new corporation are different entities, they work cohesively with each other. This co-operation within the community, plus the fact that there are no religious factions or other type of factions with the community, makes these types of things possible in Kingfisher Lake.

Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation

I shall now outline briefly the corporation's objectives and purposes for its existence which was briefly mentioned before. The businesses that now exist in Kingfisher Lake exist for the well-being of the community. This is a continuing objective, namely, to develop projects which will contribute to the economic base of the Band, while providing employment for Band members.

Anticipated areas of potential interest for the community to develop include hunting and fishing cottages, buying an aircraft to aid in its operations and such others as the community considers necessary or desirable. The principal criteria for the adoption of future projects by the corporation are whether such a proposed project would enhance the social, cultural, educational, recreational, or religious life of the community while supplying a service deemed necessary or desirable. To realize such objectives, buildings and any other facilities necessary to run the aforesaid projects will be constructed or otherwise acquired. The organization does not exist for purpose of gain for its members, and any profits or other accretions to the organization shall be used in promoting its objectives.

Hunting and Fishing Camps

One of the immediate plans in terms of economic development is setting up fishing and hunting camps. Four or five lakes or areas for now have been marked for these operations. These lakes have been marked on a prepared map. The exact type of ownership of these operations is not determined yet. But all will have the objective of gaining employment for the local band members by utilizing the natural resources.

Aircraft

The other objective of the community through the Kingfisher Lake Socio-Economic Development Corporation is to buy an

aircraft. The exact nature of this plan cannot be released yet. However, this aircraft will assist in the community's operations and activities. Pilot training has been commenced of one young local person.

Bakery

The other immediate objective is to start a bakery perhaps in conjunction with the Band Coffee Shop. This would provide fresh bakery bread and pastries to the community which provide one extra job.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We, the native people of Kingfisher Lake recommend to the Royal Commission that the surrounding area be used solely for the inhabitants of the area which are the members of Kingfisher Lake Band. This will act as a resource base to continue our native livelihood as much as possible; this land and its natural resources will act as a base for some of our economic development aspirations; this also will act as a base to continue and preserve our unique cultural heritage which we now enjoy. In order to make this possible we need to control and manage the said land with no interference from outside government regulations. What we ask, Mr. Commissioner is nothing new. We ask only to leave the land to us as it has been for the last hundreds of years.

APPENDIX IV

R.C.N.E. HEARING

KASABONIKA LAKE, ONTARIO

JUNE 16, 1983

Introduction

Commissioner, thank you for coming to our community. The people of Kasabonika have expressed their feelings on the many different things that can be discussed. The majority of these people are concerned about their rights to fish, hunt, and trap for the things they need. These sort of activities are very precious and essential for a native person. These rights have been guaranteed in a treaty and they certainly want to keep it that way. Also the majority of the people are very concerned about the proposed large developments around this area. They foresee the destruction that can be caused in our land. They want to prevent these if they can, which in effect will preserve the land and its resources which are precious to the native people. They don't mind the small things that can be started in the community, which can be helpful to the people. These people are not only concerned for themselves, but for the younger people that will be living on the land in the future. Commissioner, we hope the best will happen for the future.

The Lord was generous in giving us this land. The Lord made the land, water, sky and every living creature. The Lord said to the native people as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow may you utilize the land. Now I will tell how I feel about these things. This land was given to the native people for their livelihood. I've seen the whiteman's way of life and they are using the land which was given to the native people. I saw that they had to pay for everything they wanted to use, this includes the native people around the same area. And what I want for the native people is to have what was given to them.

I used to fish, hunt and trap. I never had to pay for anything as it is today. I was satisfied and I've made use of everything that was provided for me. I was never too careful to know that I might someday lose my rights to hunt and fish freely in my own land. Because I saw what the Lord had promised for the people and I always went by this. If this happened we will probably end up paying for a cup of water and also the wood we would need for fire. I don't see how the native people would be able to afford to pay for the things they would need. The native people have to hold on to their land and they shouldn't give up all of the land because this isn't going to be good for the native people.

The best thing for the native people is to hold on to their land and everything they need for their livelihood. They wouldn't have to pay for anything or pay for any licence to hunt or fish. They would take the responsibility of utilizing the

land. It wouldn't be good for the native people if they can't show how they had used the land and how they plan to use it.

It was never meant for native people to have to pay for anything they get from their land for their livelihood. If this ever happened it wouldn't be good for the children.

Jobs will be good for those who are able to work but they would have to decide what kind of development is needed around this area. If they can't decide it's not going to do them any good for that long. If the white people decide on all of these I don't see what good it's going to do to the native people. If the Government is in full control the native people will always be pressured if they can't properly utilize the land they occupy. The native people who are able to hunt, do so and they enjoy it. Everything on land, in water and up in the sky was given to them for their livelihood. [Simeon McKay (1)]

The large developments will not be useful for the native people. If it was close by we would have to get water from far away to make sure the water was safe to drink. There's no benefit for the native people from these developments and this is what concerns me. This is what's happening to the water that's close to the community and we have to get water away from here. It would be much better if we could make plans for our community and not include something that might interfere. This would be good for the reserve plus we would be able to save our hunting traditions.

As of today I am satisfied with the assistance we get from the government, because I had agreed with the others to accept

the assistance from the government it offered. This was to be as long as they were the government and us older people realize that this might not be. [Simeon McKay (2)].

I've been working as a C.H.W. (Community Health Worker) for 16 years in Kasabonika. The first 3 years I did not get paid for.

My education consists of up to grade 2, and a C.H.W. training which mainly taught Public Health: ie: sanitation and nutrition.

I had training in emergency care which were for 2 weeks long approximately six times at various times through the years I've worked.

When I first started working there was no easy access to communication and transportation available to the Big Trout Lake Nursing Station. I had to write a letter to the Big Trout Lake Nursing Station if there was a sick patient here. Today it seems easier now that we have telephones and more planes are available.

My job primarily as a C.H.W. is supposed to be doing public health. I am supposed to be teaching about preventative health. But I don't have time to be doing anything about this since I am too busy doing Primary Care, that involves diagnosing, giving out medication and doing emergency treatment.

I did not go to school to do any of these things but sometimes I feel I should be a Doctor or a Nurse when I have to do these things. It is getting very tiring because (1) The population is increasing; (2) The girl that works with me has not

received any training; (3) Nurses visit from Big Trout Lake is every 2 weeks and stays for 2 days but sometimes we don't receive a visit for at least 1 month; (4) Doctors visit every 2 months and stay for 2 days. This is not enough time for the people to be seen by the nurse or a Doctor to get proper health care. As of now we don't see any specialists here very often; (5) I am supposed to be only working for 20 hours for 1 week but lately it seems that I've been working more than that even though I get paid for overtime. It is still a very large responsibility for just one person to try to handle the job I'm doing. There should be a Nursing Station here already at least, the people would have some continuity in their Health care. It is not like in a city where there is a hospital in the next block and specialists available all the time. If there is a Nursing Station here there would be nurses here all the time and hopefully we would receive a visit from the Doctor every month and specialists once or twice a year. Another thing is I have trouble with right now is transportation for patients to the airport. We are using M.T.C. truck and Band office jeep right now. But there is the Health and Welfare truck that has been sitting in front of Nurse's Cabin for 2 years and we are unable to use it. [Emily Gregg (1)]

I will talk about trapping, fishing and hunting. All things that are available were provided for the native people by the Lord. It's up to us to utilize the land. I certainly don't want my rights to fish, hunt and trap freely taken away from me. We don't want to recognize the M.N.R.'s regulations and its

licences. Native people want to keep on harvesting from their lands freely at any time. We trust our land for our livelihood. It was given to us from the Lord and we will not leave our land. We don't want trouble because of our land and it would be better if we could run our own affairs concerning fishing, hunting and trapping. Everything is spiritually alive for the Lord made this land. The work that can be obtained by the native people is beneficial to them but we don't want to destroy the land because of this. We want to keep our land because the children in the future will want to use it for their livelihood.

It's important to get education in order to get a job. It's difficult for the young because of things that interfere with them. They can't really concentrate on what is being taught to them. They end up misusing the education they get from the white people, at the same time they move away from their native ways of life. They start using alcohol and other things that will mislead their lives. Educated people in fact should consider of how they can help and work with the people in the reserve and make it a better place to live. They should make a stand with their education and make life easier for the future generations that are in the reserve. This is how it is as of today. Also we know that when rules are set up they can never work as planned and we are not the only ones with this problem.

Where ever forest harvesting had taken place is not a pretty sight to see. This is not beneficial for the native people if their land is ruined. Native people will have to protect the forests and the animals in it.

If there is no way of stopping the mining development the

native people will have to benefit from these as long as the white people do. Because in doing so (mining our land) they will ruin our land and the Lord had given us this land and the resources it contains.

Building Dams will not be good for the land. The flood will destroy everything including the fish in the water. It wasn't the Lord's plan to destroy the land he had provided for the native people for their livelihood. [Moses Anderson (1)]

The medical services are unsatisfactory for the native people. More help is required for the native people because we are concerned about their health. It's always nice to have nurses and Doctors come to our reserve to check the health of the people. We see the medical personnel that work here do their jobs as required. It's important to have the people checked regularly. A person with a sickness would be given treatment right away. Medical needs are essential for the native people and that is why we want more help. The Treaty guarantees that the government will pay for the medical services, which ever ails the native person or persons. This guarantee is to last until the sun doesn't shine anymore.

The government gave its assistance to start building houses on the reserve. They planned to build good sturdy houses, but today we see our houses falling apart and can't be used for a long period of time. The government had guaranteed to provide the houses as long as they are in power.

I see the seniors are having problems because they are

unable to provide for themselves. A way to help the seniors, the sick are in need. We have to find a way to help these people. This winter I had troubles in providing for myself and I got help from other people. The leaders will have to find a way to help the seniors because we can't just let them freeze to death during the winter. If a place could be arranged for the seniors in this reserve, would be very helpful. Seniors going someplace else would be expensive for anybody wanting to visit them. It's more reasonable to have a place here on our own reserve for them.

Thank you and may the Lord bless you. [Moses Anderson (2)].

The Lord said after he was finished in creating this world, He said it was to be used by the people and also he said everything grows on land to be used by the people like (grass, forests and berries animals, etc.). This is the Lord's promise and he's the one that created this world. The Lord didn't say that there should be regulations concerning the things he made. The Government also guaranteed to provide assistance as the Lord had promised. They talked about the sun and the rivers and this is how strong the guarantee is. [Jimmy Anderson]

It's not going to do us any good if we are governed by the white people regarding our harvesting activities. Fish, birds, animals of all kinds, trees, grass, rivers, rocks, lakes, and sand were all provided by the Lord for the utilization for all native people. We always want to be able to fish, hunt and trap

where ever we want to go. The white people should not be allowed to ruin our land. As of today we know and see the sun and every living thing on earth depends on it. [Isaac Anderson]

I am cooking beaver and cribou inside my teepee this is how I would like for the children to live because this is how I enjoyed living in the past. I saw the native people living for many years harvesting from this land. Many of them grew white hair and died of old age. As of today people die off and not because of old age, this started to happen because of the food they get from the cans. This is how I see it anyway.

Long Ago the mothers used to chew food for their children and these children grew to become very old persons. The children never became sick because of the food that was given to them. As of today I don't live like a white person and still live much like a native person inside a teepee. I was given a house and I use it because I don't disapprove of the help I get from the white people.

Thank-You. [Martine Morris]

I have little to say, I remember we were required to assign our traplines and this was done. I thought that the traplines then would be forever kept. For the native people to get everything they needed from there. As for me I am still active in trapping and fishing.

[From Charlie Frogg]

My name is Sarah Mamakwa. My wish is that there be some control concerning children and how they are going to have their livelihood, because everything was created for all native peoples livelihood. All kinds of food was made for their use as long as they live. They were to harvest from the land and nobody should try to change this. Long ago this is how our fathers and their father lived, harvesting from the land freely. There were never any limitations on how many fish, birds, animals and other kinds of food that were taken from our land. For those who can acquire some work it will be helpful to them and they should be allowed to work. But most of us still enjoy eating of what can be harvested from our lands.

[From Sarah Mamakwa]

I don't have much to say. What I would like to mention is about forest harvesting. I know how this can affect us if this sort of activity gets closer to us. Lots of things that were given to us will be lost. Our animals will be lost, our wood forest, our water and our fish, because forest harvesting can ruin lots of land plus everything in it. Our habitations can very well be affected. For us that would be unable to work we would be in despair because a lot of our surroundings would be destroyed. The native people will have a hard time getting something from their land.

The natives were told to find a place to start a place to

settle where ever it's suitable. But we know our whole land is suitable for our habitations, and to utilize as long as the Lord said. It was to be forever for native people to utilize this land which was given to them. The native people will find bodies of water where its clear, deep and with lots of fish and dial them, to make sure these will las them forever. Plus everything that's on land (trees, animals, birds and etc.) to know these are always abundant.

The creator said that as long as the sun shines and rivers flow, the native people will use the land for their livelihood. The same goes for the government with his treaty.

[Me-wa, Simeon Begg]

I will discuss about trapping and fishing. Trapping has been going on for a long time. This was part of the native people's lives. There were no limits of how many furs to trap and no boundaries were made. The trappers went where ever they pleased and there were no conflicts between them. I think it's a good idea to join all traplines into one in our area because most trappers are satisfied with this idea. Fishing and trapping have been discussed before in the past because the native people have always depended on these for their livelihood. These haven't been very profitable for the native people's budget. They're starting to try and find ways to make these profitable and economical. These two are very important for the native people because they're essential for their livelihood, They are also concerned about these matters if they can't hae any control in

them, There are other developments that will have to consider about. For example if we can start a store this will be helpful to the native people, We'll have to consider what's on top and under the land and see how we can benefit from these. If we can start a business in our land and have control over it, will be beneficial for the native people. It would be financially helpful to the people working.

The other developments that could be considered are: Lumber (sawmills), Commercial Fishing, Trapping, Mining, Tourist Camps, Gardening, Wood Cutting.

There can be beneficial for us and to the white people as well. The native people will have to determine which to start first and see if its going to do them any good. They would also make plans on how to go about these things. If the native people decide to make one trapline they would have to consider on how muchmore land they would need, Then they could put consideration into other developments. Lots of money could be made from these developments. It would only be fair to have native people receive half of the money and other half would go to the white people because it's our land that would be used.

[Me-wa Charlie Oskineegish].

Commercial fishing is not profitable because evrytning is expensive for example: planes and gas that are needed. The fish have to be flown into another place and during a not summer day the fish can go bad before it gets to that place. Trapping will never be beneficial for native people if the Ministry of Natural

Resources gives us licences and the native people shouldn't have to accept these. I wish trapping can be the same as of today for as long as the native people say so. And we would never have to pay for anything we need because the natives were told everything given to them was free. Look at Genesis Chapter One verse 28-30.

I've said before that I cannot let go of the things I use from this land. I am satisfied with what I am able to use, fish, birds, animals, forest and everything else. These things should be able to be used by the young people in the days to come.

The education system is not working for our children because most of them that leave for high school end up coming back home. There should be a school here that goes up to grade ten.

[Me-wa David E. Anderson]

Where school is located is not suitable, The water lines freeze during winter, They should consider to find a better location for it.

I think the telephones are too expensive to have, because of the overcharge on long distance calls.

A women has a right to speak because we live on this land too. These large developments that are proposed by the white people (mining, forest harvesting, dams) these will bring destruction to our land, little or no benefit goes to the natives. This is our land (Nishnabwe-aski) and its our territory, the white people has no right to say what goes on in our land.

[From Elizabeth D. Anderson]

What the Lord said was that the Native people have been given this land to utilize as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow, When the M.N.R. says that specific lakes are only to be used, it sounds to me that they are trying to stop us from using the rivers and I don't understand this. Also everything in the water and everything that grows should be used. As of today the native people have made good use of everything that surrounds them. As is the fish and animals eat insects we don't see and there are all kinds of them, plus they make use of everything that grows on land, We see a bird running around and we can't see what it's feeding on, but we know he's making use of it. This is how it is with the native people they make use of everything and not only the things that can be seen because everything is good to be used.

In 1929 the government said to the native people that he will provide assistance as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow, Just like what the creator said.

[Me-wa William Anderson]

The native people enjoy trapping and it's not fair for the white people to decide on this matter, what ever the Lord provided the native people will always want to use them. Everything that moves for example like fish, birds, animals and what ever that grows in this land. The native people will have to keep on hunting, fishing and trapping because it's essential for their livelihoods. As of today I don't see anything that's

creating problems for these sort of activities. These were provided for the native people and the white man shouldn't govern these matters. There is only one who made this land and every living thing in it. The native people can never give everything which was provided for them.

That's all I can say Thank you very much

[Elijah Anderson]

I will discuss about commercial fishing and the problems that concerns the fisherman. The native people are given limitations on how many fish to get from each lake and they are not allowed to get fish from the smaller lakes. It's not very profitable for the native people because planes and gas are expensive. The weather is not always permitting the plane to take the fish to its far destination. When they are unable to send the fish to Pickle Lake because there's no room for storing the fish. They end up wasting a lot of fish.

Also they get no assistance from anybody and they have to provide for whatever they need to do commercial fishing. As I have mentioned before everything is expensive including the nets that are used. A lot of money is required.

Some native people are still considering doing more commercial fishing. Many however, are starting to lose interest because this is not helping them in any way. The amount they get paid for the fish is not very much and they are farther up north which means more expense. This is one of the farthest reserves where commercial fishing takes place. The Otter taking the fish

to Pickle Lake costs up to 12 hundred dollars. The fishermen are always in need for money

Many of the native people are always in need of supplies and equipment in order to do any commercial fishing, ie; Boats. Motors.

Houses and storage houses for the fish that are used by the native people are not in good shape.

(Levi Brown, Band Councillor)

APPENDIX V

PRESENTATION

to

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

by

The Wunnimun Lake Band Members

June 15, 1983

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WUNNIMUN LAKE BAND MEMBERS' PRESENTATION

to

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

I. Isiah Mamakwa

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

I don't agree, nor do I accept that the government would regulate all the lands and resources which provide the Indian people's livelihood. There will be problems for people who are nomadic in their pursuit of a traditional lifestyle if such regulations are put into effect.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

An all weather road would have negative impacts on our future generations. I'd rather not see an all weather road coming into our trapping areas, so that our children can continue to use these lands for their benefit.

PAPER MILLS

I have heard that the environment is destroyed from paper mill operations. From timber cutting, animals would disappear, and the fish and water would be destroyed from pollution.

TIMBER CUTTING

Timber cutting would have a negative impact upon us even though a lot of income would be generated from the employment that would be created. But when the timber cutting operations are terminated there would be no source of survival for our people, after the forest and environment are destroyed.

I do not want to see any large scale development coming into our area.

II. George Sainnawap

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

Long ago the Indian people received great benefits from the land, as I myself have witnessed. Now, the way I see it, the whiteman wants to pass his laws. The forest is still whole here where we Indians live. Where the Indians dwell, the forest are still there. So nobody should ever come to us and say, "We own and control the land".

The laws passed should reflect those promises made by the Queen when the first treaties were signed regarding the land. Laws will be made in the prairie region but there will be no laws imposed in this area. No person can count the exact number of trees existing.

The Indian people still have control and own these forests. No person can say they'll initiate large scale development unless the Chiefs and Indian people give their consent. In the treaty, Queen Victoria assured the Indian people this law would be respected as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow.

Q. Where does your religion exist?

A. In my conscience.

Q. Where do the laws of the land exist?

A. In my feet.

Q. How long is your Indian Culture?

A.

III. Thomas Angees

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

My comments will be short and will refer to the Creator who said the people should make use of the land as long as the rivers flow and the sun shines. Our children's future survival is important in our deliberations and decisions affecting land use. This is especially true for the people who will be required to stay on the reserves.

Our ancestors of long ago said the whitemen would not provide laws benefiting our people. Instead, they said, laws would be passed that would impose difficulties and hardships on the Indian people. The young people will not be satisfied or happy with these laws unless a sufficient land base is arranged to insure their future survival.

MINING OPERATIONS

In the past trapping and trapline areas were not regulated by law but this is the situation today.

It is evident that where mining exists, there are problems and not many benefits. Everything is destroyed with poisoned chemicals. Fowls and fish are poisoned. These animals, when eaten, kill the people. I don't feel mining would be very beneficial for me unless money was my only motive.

IV. Alex McKay

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

I live and depend on the lakes for my survival. I want the future generations to continue this way of life. I want them to be able to eat fowl, fish and moose, and to have access to natural resources.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

I don't want an all weather road going into our traditional trapping and hunting grounds.

MINING

Mining is not favourable as it destroys the environment. Once I had hoped to make a living from mining, but I had an accident. This is why I don't recommend mining - because it destroys the environment and kills people with accidents. I've considered the consequences of mining from my own experience and I don't want mining development occurring.

LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT

I have heard about such development which destroys all the fish, animals, water and the rest of the environment.

I do not want to see any large scale development except for those economic development ventures that are initiated and controlled by the Indian people, and which do not impose negative social and environmental impacts.

V. Isiah Gliddy

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

I do not think large scale development plans are relevant to our needs and therefore I cannot support the Ministry of Natural Resource's plans.

Even if I consented to these developments taking place in my lifetime, the negative consequences would be felt by the children in the future.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

An all weather road, as I understand it, would provide immediate benefits, such as employment during the construction phase. All other aspects would be permanent and negative, and are not favourable in my opinion.

PAPER MILLS

I have seen and understood how these plants work in the south. I have seen the mills in Fort Frances and Dryden, and I have seen how the water is destroyed and the trees do not grow back.

MINING

I worked in mines from 1955 to 1958 and saw some of the impacts they have. Dynamite and chemicals are used underground and are very dangerous. There were times when the miners sent some kind of gas into the mining core area; and then they were not allowed to stay there for more than fifteen minutes. This is how dangerous and polluting mining development is. Also, they pumped the underground wastes into one area and released it into the lake. The discharge had an effect for at least 10 miles. One thing I experienced first-hand was that when I fished about 15 miles away from the mining area I could not eat the fish that I caught. They didn't even taste like fish. This is an example of a destructive result from mines.

VI. Judas Angeles

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

I am not hurrying to push for any large scale developments or to support the West Patricia Land Use Plan that is being prepared by the Ministry of Natural Resources. It is a known fact that these types of development result in the destruction of natural resources.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

An all weather road would provide outside access into our traditional lands. White people would come into our area to hunt, fish and live where it would interfere with our trapping and hunting. Alcohol would be easily accessible, and available in our community. Pretty soon we would begin to lose our Indian culture.

PAPER MILLS

There would be a lot of short-term economic benefits for us and our families. The negative impacts would be greater. Paper mills would destroy our environment - the water, the fish, and the animals. Our water would be contaminated and unsuitable for drinking. This is why I am not supporting this project in my homeland.

TIMBER CUTTING

I have often considered what effects timber cutting would have on us. The animals would stay away or disappear because the cut area would look like a frozen lake. Pretty soon our livelihood derived from the wildlife would be gone. Our source of survival, given to us when we were created, would disappear. Animals would be frightened away or destroyed. If the animals and resources are destroyed our culture will also be finished.

MINING

Mining would have negative impacts in the future. Certainly there would be short-term benefits for us and our children. When we participate totally in this development we would forget our Indian culture. We would begin to lose respect and leave the culture that was given to us when we were created and put here on earth. We would forget and leave our Indian culture very quickly.

LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT

I understand these large scale development projects are required to assist the southern population's employment opportunities. I am pretty sure any royalties or taxes collected by the government will, in one way or another, be used to assist their own people. The south has pretty well exhausted their natural resources and will eventually push north for development-in search of financial benefits for the companies,

governments, and people. Some of our people might be allowed to have one or more of these development projects in consideration of the Indian people.

This is the hardest part of our decision making - whether to surrender our lands and resources for the benefit of all people or to save our land and resources so that our Indian culture can continue and survive.

VII. Moses Anrees

ALL WEATHER ROAD

I know that there would be negative consequences if a road was linked into our community. Alcohol would be the main source of problems, as it would be easily accessible to the people. Also, it would enable the mining companies to transport their heavy equipment more easily. I am sure that the Indian people of the north would not find this road access favourable to their culture.

PAPER MILLS

Paper mills destroy the wildlife and the environment crucial to the Indian's survival. These mills produce pollution affecting the water, fish, and other animals. The Indian people would not be happy to find their source of income and employment, in the long run we would find that we could not go back to our traditional life when the forest

resources have been exhausted and operations terminated.

The timber cutting area would be barren and look like a frozen lake where wildlife cannot exist.

MINING

I do not feel mining would enhance the productivity of my trapping areas and therefore I do not want mining development to be initiated in this area. As I understand the issue, it would disrupt my way of life of hunting, trapping and fishing. This development would pollute our lakes, and destroy our wildlife species and our land. The benefits would occur for only a short period of time.

VIII. Charlie Beaver

LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT

There is no chance that these developments will benefit the Indian people in the future. I am aware that there would be immediate benefits, but twenty years later it could cause significant problems for our people. I am referring to timber cutting, paper mills, roads, and mines.

The Indian people should have a land allocation for their exclusive use in order to ensure the survival of their culture. The land allocation should be completely controlled by the Indian people and no large scale development should be imposed. Also, a road should not be allowed to enter the area.

THE CONFLICT

LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT

I cannot support the large scale development which is being proposed by the white society. There are too many projects that our environment and Indian culture would experience. Sure, there would be some development - we would be receiving money for working on these projects - but the long term consequences will impose hardships on our future generations. It would destroy our wildlife and pollute our environment. I cannot support this type of destruction of any of the proposed large scale development projects.

I would be happier to see our trapping and other aspects of Indian life enhanced and protected for the survival of our children. Our culture, which was given to us by the Creator, must be continued.

At the time of creation all the natural resources - including timber, rocks, gravel, mud, grass, and all other things - were given in custody to the Indian people for their survival. The animals roaming on the land and the birds of the skys all have a purpose in our culture. All the elements are given to us. Not one single thing is owned by the white man. The Indians were here first, before the European arrived on the boat. The Indian people utilized all the natural resources and wildlife to the benefit of our culture and survival.

June 12

Indian people have the right to govern these resources and their lives.

Sometime in 1981, a land claim was settled whereby the Indians could have complete control of the land. That person or corporation who then instructed the government in how to allocate, on how to benefit from our land and its resources.

We must receive payment and royalties for every piece of gravel, timber, mud, and other existing resources from any person who takes these from the Indian lands. Indians have the right to control the land and its resources including our culture.

Now I hear that the white people plan to implement large scale developments that will wreak destruction on our land and on our very lives. Even if we allowed this development to take place, the price would be high and fatal. I cannot allow or support these destructive forces to enter our lives.

A. Eli Cairnawar

INDIAN LANDS USE PLAN

We know from the past that the Indian people were free to roam about in pursuit of their livelihood. In the past there was nothing threatening the destruction of our resources or preventing us from using them. Now, today, there are development projects emerging that are threatening our land and culture. Projects like mining, roads, and power mills are being proposed.

In the past the Indian people had abundant access to the land and utilized the resources in whatever way they chose in order to support themselves and their families. In our future there will be no person who will utilize or benefit from the proposed large scale developments being imposed upon us. I do not think my children will be able to survive on these developments of the future.

Nobody can bring upon themselves the things that are destructive to their lives and environment.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

An all weather road would create negative environmental and social impacts.

Chemical sprays are used to stunt the growth of trees along the route. The sprayed chemicals are dangerous to the environment, and especially to the animals. For instance, if a partridge consumes wild berries from the sprayed area it would be killed. Other forms of wildlife also begin to disappear from these sites.

A road leading into our community would produce tremendous negative impacts on our social and cultural life. With the road comes easy access to alcohol. Alcohol disrupts our family ties and relations with other people. Our doors and windows would always be broken. Our people would be driven away in cars by strangers travelling on the road. Various forms of religions would be introduced. These are the results of a road that I have personally witnessed and felt in another

community that I left behind. Sure, there was much commotion and celebration at first, but gradually our way of life and traditions were eroded. I am also sure that the same applies to airports being constructed on reserves.

PAPER MILLS

There is so much destruction originating from paper mills. The smoke from the mills travel far away before finally settling into the environment, and producing a negative effect on the animals and water. The smoke and other discharges from paper mills contain poisonous chemicals which pollute the environment.

The Indian people do not want to see this type of development in the north even though paper mill products are useful in our lives. For instance, we have paper and materials for housing from timber resources. But the cost of this development is our culture and environment. It would disrupt our trapping, fishing, hunting, and other aspects of our lives.

MINING

Mines discharge fluids and chemicals underground which go down into the bedrock and then into the rivers and lakes, affecting the fish and fowl. From mining there are certain products used to manufacture items that we use at home and in our community. But again, the cost of this development is too high to pay.

LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT

These are the types of development that I do not support because of their negative impacts on our lives and environment. In particular the resources that we depend on - the wildlife, such as beaver, mink, foxes, moose, and the fish - would be destroyed.

The paper mills and the mining projects should not be accepted by the people because they are destructive. Although these developments would provide short-term benefits, there is no consideration of the long-term consequences to the future generations who will also need the land.

That is all I am saying - I do not want to see these types of developments implemented. Sure, there would be benefits and prosperity for the people of today; but in the future our children would be the ones to suffer the consequences of our decisions today.

For example, this child sitting with me is my grandchild. He too will have children and grandchildren and so on. We must base our decisions to ensure their future survival.

Thank you for this opportunity to express my concerns on the effects of large scale development.

XI. Joseph Gliddy

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

I want to comment on the West Patricia Land Use Plan that has been prepared by the Ministry of Natural Resources. The Ministry of Natural Resources requested feedback from the people regarding their plan.

Long ago a man named Jimmy Tait, who was a traditional chief, allocated and staked a large pact of land for the exclusive use of the Indian people. Jimmy Tait travelled around with a man named Joseph. They went around our country staking out this claim in the hopes that the generations to come would benefit from it. It took them six summers to complete their work. Today their initiative and plans for this land allocation have been lost and forgotten.

We must ensure the survival of our land and resources for our future generations. We elders will not see this future; and so put our hopes on our children, that they will come to utilize these resources for their own benefit.

LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT

The whitemen and their government do not have the right to regulate and impose large scale development on our land and its people.

Mining destroys the fish, animals, timber, and water.

The same applies to the paper mills and other large scale developments. These are undesirable for our land and trapping areas.

III. Joel Bighead

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

First of all, I would like to state that the West Patricia Land Use Plan prepared by the Ministry of Natural Resources has been conducted carelessly, without due consideration of the native people.

Ever since the first encounter with the whitemen our relations with them have been of a secretive and suspicious manner, especially when the Indian people were approached for their lands in the treaty. The Indian people did not have the knowledge or understanding of the legal implications when they signed the treaty documents. In those times the Indian people did not have the skills and knowledge that are being taught in the schools today; and therefore they did not have the abilities the whitemen had. I am very sure that the treaty was forced upon our people. They were not made to fully understand the complications of the treaty. Also, the people were asked how they wanted to utilize their lands but they were not overly concerned with that question at that time. Based on this history, the treaty should not have been binding.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

An all weather road would have impacts that would interfere with our community. Many things would occur that would disrupt our way of life and the serenity of our people. I do not want an all weather road entering our reserve.

PAPER MILLS

I have seen paper mill plants down south and have had the opportunity to tour the facilities. I think of all the damages it could do to my trapping grounds, from the smoke exhaust and other chemical wastes. I could not possibly allow this mill to be in my trapline area because it would result in the cutting down of the forest where the animals dwell.

MINING

Considering the nature of this project, I cannot support it as it would pollute and destroy the land which the Indian people still survive.

Along with the other people of the north, I oppose mining because of its negative impacts.

TOURISM-SPORTS FISHING

I often wonder about the effects this type of development would have on the places I value so much. For instance, the effects on the lakes and the rivers where I fish. Tourism would interfere with my traditional activities.

X111. David McKay

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

A completely different lifestyle was given to the Indian people - not the type of developments that are being imposed upon us.

Down south our native brothers cannot exist in the conditions created by the white society. Their cultural lifestyle has been completely eroded. The same situation can happen to us if we allow these developments to take place.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

An all weather road would carry negative impacts to the people, including myself. Nobody knows where I would end up if a road ran by my trapline. I am aware of some problems that exist in places where outside access is available. Outside hunters and tourists carry around a supply of alcoholic beverages and usually end up providing drinks to the Indian people. Also, we would just be watching our wildlife being slaughtered away.

PAPER MILLS

The existence of a paper mill would require timber harvesting. The harvesting would create a barren wasteland. The moose and cariboo would stay away from such a place. The fur bearing animals which we trap would disappear. I have seen places like this to back up my statements. Maybe we should avoid this type of development in the north.

MINING CLAIMS

In my opinion there is no guarantee that the Indian people can depend upon mining development to give them work in the future. I am sure there are some people who are willing to permit mining in order to obtain employment. But still there would be problems for these people. They cannot hold a job for long periods of time. When Indian people have a little amount of money they quit their jobs. So I have come to the conclusion that nothing should be developed in our area in order to prevent the negative impacts from mining.

Certainly we would reap the immediate benefits from mining but the consequences would be felt in the future by our children, as we would have completely destroyed the environment in the process.

XIV . Summary

WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN

We do not accept that the government would regulate all the lands and resources which provide our livelihood. The plan is not relevant to our needs and will only create problems in the future. This plan was made without due consideration of the native people's needs.

In the past the Indian people received great benefits from the land and its resources. Our ancestors said that the whitemen would not pass laws that were beneficial to the Indian people - instead, they said, the laws would impose difficulties and hardships. Our land is still whole, and we still control and own it. We still depend upon the land for our survival. This land and its resources were given in custody to the Indian people - it is our job to protect it.

Any laws that are passed should reflect the promises made by Queen Victoria when the treaty was signed. Some of us feel that the Indian people were not made to fully understand the implications of the treaty when it was signed. In view of this, the treaty should not have been binding.

We are deeply concerned about the quality of life that will be left to our children if this plan is implemented. Our children's survival is an important factor in our deliberations

and decisions regarding the land use plan. The young people will not be happy unless a sufficient land base is arranged to ensure a traditional lifestyle. We want the future generations to be able to eat fowl, fish, and moose; and to have access to the natural resources.

The types of Plans proposed result in widespread environmental damage. If we allowed these plans to be implemented, we would end up in the same situation as our southern brothers - our culture would be eroded.

In view of the above considerations we cannot allow any laws to be imposed here.

ALL WEATHER ROAD

Although an all weather road would provide immediate economic benefits, we do not want a road coming into our hunting and trapping areas.

We say this because of the destruction the long-term impacts would have. White people would enter our land to hunt, fish and live; and they would interfere with our hunting and trapping. Alcohol would be easily accessible which would lead to social breakdown. It would be easier for the mining companies to transport their heavy equipment. Sprays used to stunt the growth of trees along the route would cause environmental damage, especially to the birds' food supply.

May 1978

Layer mills would cause enormous environmental damage. Animals would disappear; the land on which they are destroyed; the trees needed to build the mill would not be replanted; the water used in the mill would be polluted; the air pollution.

Some of us have seen the layer mills in Iowa, and they are the same as the ones in the north.

The only benefit from such a venture would be a small economic one. After the operations are over, the land will be able to return to our traditional lifestyle. The damage is too great to even consider this type of development.

May 1978

Again, there would be short-term economic benefits, but this is not enough to justify the long-term damage. The land and environment would be destroyed, and the livelihood left for the poorer people. The animals would disappear from the cut areas because it would look like a frozen lake. If the animals and resources are destroyed, our culture will also be destroyed.

MINING OPERATIONS

Mining would only be beneficial if money was our only motive.

Some of us have worked in mines and seen its destructive impacts on the environment and also its personal dangers. The environment is destroyed by dynamite and chemicals, and by wastes seeping into the water supply, causing widespread water pollution. The fowls and fish are poisoned and in turn poison the people who consume them. Gas used in mining poses a personal threat to the workers. We would lose our Indian culture if we became totally involved in mining. Our trapping areas would be adversely effected.

LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENTS

Some of us have seen and heard about the destruction wreaked by large scale developments. There may be immediate benefits but later significant problems would arise. Most of the benefits would be felt by the southern population, especially in the area of employment opportunities.

Rather than large scale developments, our trapping and other forms of Indian life should be protected and enhanced. We should have a land allocation for our exclusive use. In 1893, Jimmy Tait, a traditional chief, staked such an allocation. It took him six summers, but now this work is lost and forgotten. We have no assurance that our environment and the Indian culture would survive such developments.

The only economic developments that should be allowed are those initiated and controlled by the Indian people.

